











THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
**British**  
**Archaeological Association,**

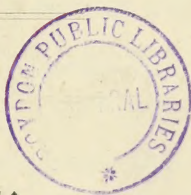
ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE  
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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**VOL. XLV.**

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## PREFACE.

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THE FORTY-FIFTH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains the greater number of Papers read during the very successful Congress at Glasgow in 1888, and in the course of the recent session in London. Many of these Papers relate to subjects that have rarely been treated so exhaustively before this; for just as the science of archæology widely embraces all that is old, whether in feeling or in fact, so her votaries are more frequently attracted by an almost endless series of interesting objects than absorbed by one definite point of research. Few of us, too, can really devote the great time necessary for keen and fruitful study of one special antiquarian subject while the multitudinous voices of every-day life clamour round us on every side for a small share of our attention. Nevertheless we owe our thanks to our literary friends in Scotland, and to our active members generally, for having contributed so important a set of Papers as are contained in the volume now just completed.

The retirement of Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., from the

post of Honorary Treasurer, which he has occupied so fitly for seventeen years, the death of Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, Rev. Scott-Surtees, Mr. W. Myers, and others, create gaps in our numbers not easy to fill up, and those who remain must rally round the Association, which before long will be arriving at the first jubilee—let us hope not the last—of its existence.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

31 *December* 1889.

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# British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA (but see next page). The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1888-89 are as follow:—1888, Nov. 21, Dec. 5. 1889, January 2, 16; Feb. 6, 20; March 6, 20; April 3, 17; May 1 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 15; June 5.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

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## RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,<sup>1</sup>—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.

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<sup>1</sup> Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

#### ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen<sup>1</sup> Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen<sup>2</sup> other Associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday in May<sup>3</sup> in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

#### OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

#### OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

<sup>1</sup> Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

<sup>3</sup> In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.



## OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

## OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days<sup>1</sup> on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

<sup>1</sup> In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

<sup>2</sup> At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.



## LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNTHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857 NORWICH . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY . . .	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY
1859 NEWBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt.
1868 CIRENCESTER . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL . . .	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM . . .	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877 LLANGOLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN . . .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW . . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1888-9.

## President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

## Vice-Presidents.

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; SIR JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

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 REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.  
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 E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.  
 JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.  
 GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

## Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road,  
 Streatham Hill, S.W.

## Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W.

## Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum, W.C.  
 E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., 36 Great Russell Street, W.C.

## Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

## Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

## Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

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 F.S.A., F.R.S.L.  
 J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.

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 GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.  
 J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.  
 W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.  
 BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq.  
 A. WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A. Scot.,  
 F.R.G.S.

## Auditors.

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

|

R. E. WAY, Esq.

# British Archaeological Association.

## LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1889.

*The past-Presidents marked \* are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

*The letter L denotes Life-Members, and C, Congress Members for the Year.*

### THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.,

#### PRESIDENT.

##### Date of Election.

- 1865 ARMSTRONG, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Newcastle-on-Tyne
- 1854 Adams, George G., Esq., F.S.A., 126 Sloane Street, S.W.
- 1857 Adlam, Wm., Esq., F.S.A., The Manor House, Chew Magna, Bristol
- 1885 Aislabie, Major-General, 102 Piccadilly, W.
- L. 1871 Aldam, William, Esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster
- L. 1851 Alger, John, Esq., the Public Library, Auchterarder, N.B.
- C. 1888 Allan, F. W., Esq., 125 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, N.B.
- 1887 Allen, Dr. John
- 1878 Allen, J. Romilly, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., A.I.C.E., 5 Albert Terrace, Regent's Park
- L. 1857 Allen, W. E., Esq.
- L. 1874 Ames, R., Esq., M.A., 3 Hyde Park Mansions, W.
- L. 1857 Amherst, W. A. T., Esq., M.P., F.S.A., Diddington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
- 1869 Andrews, Charles, Esq., Farnham, Surrey
- 1874 Army and Navy Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
- C. 1888 Arthur, M., Esq., 78 Queen Street, Glasgow, N.B.
- C. 1888 Arthur, T. G., Esq., 78 Queen Street, Glasgow, N.B.
- 1877 Ashby, Thomas, Esq., Staines, Middlesex
- 1886 Astley, J., Esq., Stoneleigh Terrace, Queen's Road, Coventry
- 1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1886 Atkinson, G. J., Esq., *Town Clerk*, 69 Deane Road, Liverpool
  
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# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

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MARCH 1889.

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## INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT GLASGOW, 28TH AUGUST 1888,

BY THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D., F.S.A.SCOT.,  
PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

It is the custom of this Society, when it has chosen the place of its annual Congress, to make choice of some local man upon whom to confer the honour of the temporary Presidency of the meeting, and you have had the goodness upon this occasion to confer it upon me. In common with my predecessors of the same kind, I feel that my first duty is to offer you my warm thanks for the compliment which you have so kindly paid me. And I beg now to do so. In common with them also, I must ask your indulgence, as a layman among experts, for the deficiencies which I cannot but show as well as feel, when placed in a short-lived and artificial eminence over so many men with whose experience and learning no casual information which I may happen to possess can be compared. And this also I very sincerely and respectfully do, while I venture to plead for your forbearance upon the very ground that my position, however incongruous, has been laid upon me by your own choice. Lastly, I may say that I am especially conscious of the responsibility which my present situation lays upon me, as having the duty of bidding the members of the British Archaeological Association welcome not only to a new district, but to a new country,—a country which is my mother, but a stranger and a foreigner to them. It is a

responsibility which I am only too conscious of my own inability fitly to discharge. Being as I am, I know that I express not my own feelings only, but those also of my neighbours and fellow-countrymen, in assuring you of the pleasure which your first visit to Scotland is giving. We hope it may not be the last. And while we welcome the Association with the most cordial friendliness, and I hope I may add with such hospitality as may be accepted in evidence at least of our sincere wishes to show that friendliness; and while we trust and believe that the things to which your attention will be directed are such as may not only make you feel no regret for your journey, but also may even encourage you—if, indeed, we be so fortunate—to repeat it, we are also conscious of the benefits to ourselves in the study and illustration of the monuments of our own history which the visit of such a body as this is calculated to confer.

I have spoken of the monuments of history, for I think it is now conceded that the true worth, the true use, the true work of archæology is to be the helpmeet of the documents of history. It is in general connection with this fact that I hope I may be allowed to frame the words in which I propose now to address you. Under the peculiar circumstances of your being in this country for the first time, I think I may do best to permit myself a greater latitude, or perhaps I should say discursiveness, than I should have taken if I had been addressing you in England. At the same time, I shall be careful to take as examples the things which you have seen or are to see, and to mention as many of them as I can. Had this not been a first time I might, perhaps, have expressed the wish that the excursions which have been organised for you had been arranged upon a more homogeneous, historical, or ethnological plan; as, for instance, that they had been concentrated within the Cymric kingdom of Strathclyde, which is itself so wide a field that only a very limited portion of it could have been satisfactorily studied and visited. On the other hand, the tastes of archæologists differ like the tastes of the lovers of the Arts, and I may rejoice in the thought that the very heterogeneous and fragmentary—I might, indeed, be forgiven for saying superficial—nature of your excursions

upon the occasion of your first visit to Scotland may after all leave a more useful, and in a sense more truthful, impression by giving you some idea of the vastness and variety of our remains of antiquity than would have been the case had a more strictly scientific selection left the possible impression that there were no monuments in the country save those characteristic of one district, one epoch, or one class. I will, therefore, endeavour to throw what I want to say, roughly, under historical heads. At the same time this is an arrangement which must necessarily admit of much laxity, many exceptions, and many wide digressions, partly for the reason of which I have already spoken, viz., the erratic and eclectic, if I may venture to say so, the almost capricious nature of the excursions which you are making, but also because several of these places are in themselves connected with the history, and afford instances of the monuments of nearly every known period in the records of Scotland.

I have no wish to force my own classification upon any one else; but until I am convinced that there is one more scientific, I may be permitted to say that to my eye the history of Scotland always appears to fall into Three Periods, viz., the Early, the Mediæval, and the Modern. The first, or Early Period, ends with the death of Macbeth at Lumphanan on August 15, 1057. The second, or Mediæval Period, lasts till the defeat of Mary at Langside (of which battle you yesterday visited the site, and saw unveiled the memorial) on May 13, 1568. The third, or Modern Period, stretches from the battle of Langside until the present day.

(III.)—I will take the last Period first, because in itself it is of least interest to an archæological body as such, since it has left hardly any material monuments. Indeed, I might almost dismiss it in a sentence, from this point of view, were it not for some features which are necessarily associated with it, and along with which I would rather take at once the places to which they are attached than recur to the same spots again and again from different standpoints.

Had the Modern Period to be studied here from the point of view of pure history, little could have been more interesting. If I may be allowed to go less than two years

earlier than the date I have myself fixed, and to allude to the historical controversy over Mary Queen of Scots, which, although it is so utterly without practical use, has an almost supernatural power of causing people to lose their tempers, I may be forgiven for remarking that it was at Glasgow Darnley had the small-pox, and that the two most famous of the famous Casket-letters bear to have been written from here. Consequently, the question whether they are forgeries or not turns in some measure upon geographical or rather topographical considerations. But, turning to more practically important matters, you are in the very city which gives its name to the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, you are in the land of the Remonstrance, you have this day seen Bothwell Brig, you are but a little north of Drumclog and Sanquhar.

But this period, as I say, lies out of the range of Archæology proper because it has left next to no material monuments. The reason of this is because it is identified almost throughout its whole length with the period of the union of the Crowns, and, since 1707, with that of the Parliaments, and the banishment of the seat of government, or rather the transference of the government of this country into the hands of the authorities of another. The manner in which the first of these changes necessarily affected the expenditure of private wealth was, of course, as nothing to the tremendous diversion of the expenditure of individuals, and the almost total diversion out of the country of the public funds, which has been and is so marked and striking a consequence of the second.

It is an illustrative fact that you will only be brought in contact with some four or five buildings of this period, and only one of these of a State character. That one is the Chapel Royal of Stirling, built by James VI for the baptism of his eldest son, Henry. Even this was built before the union of the Crowns, and its present condition is an interesting instance of the results of the subsequent changes. The other buildings, viz., the Argyll Lodging at Stirling (now a hospital), Newark House at Port Glasgow (now included in a timber-yard), and Torwoodhead Castle (now a roofless ruin), are private dwellings, and as such were, even in their best days, the evi-



dences not of public prosperity but of individual opulence. Of one other—the dilapidated ruin of a private house at Stirling, called Mar's Work—I need hardly speak here, since, although seemingly later, as a construction, than the battle of Langside, it is generally believed to be only an imperfect congeries of scraps from Cambuskenneth Abbey.

If, however, this period has left almost no monuments in the shape of edifices, it has left plenty in the shape of destruction. Among these some of the most—perhaps the most—typical are the buildings of a public or State character. You are to visit four of these, viz., Stirling, Rothesay, Linlithgow, and Dunfermline. They have in common that they are all more or less monuments of the brilliant epoch of the five first Jameses.

Rothesay, which is the least important, is a Thirteenth Century castle with an addition of the time of James IV. The arms over the gate are among the earliest instances—if not, indeed, the first instance—of the employment of the two unicorns as the supporters of the Royal Arms. The present drawbridge is a most careful restoration—from the existing piles found in the moat, and from parallel cases—made for me by the late Mr. Burges. The statement that Robert III died at Rothesay on Palm Sunday, 1406, has become a sort of common-place. The present Lyon King of Arms, in his edition of the Exchequer Rolls, says this is no older than Bower, and accepts the statement of Wyntoun that he died at Dundonald. I have no opinion on this point, as I have not studied it; but I will remark that the statement of Wyntoun is well accordant with the indubitable fact that Robert is buried at Paisley. Had he died at Rothesay he would have been more likely to be buried there, especially as his funeral was designedly simple; and still more so if, as I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, the Parish Church of Rothesay contained then as now a royal tomb bearing the arms of his race, and which has never been used. Rothesay Castle was burnt in Argyll's rebellion in 1685, and has been a ruin ever since.

Of Dunfermline, a combined Palace and Abbey, like the Escorial, I need hardly speak, because its associations, both religious and historical, from the days of Malcolm

and Margaret downwards, are so important and so vast that I could not touch them in a single paragraph. The Palace was last occupied by a King when Charles II stayed there at the beginning of August 1650. He left it on the 16th, the same day on which he signed the Dunfermline Declaration, thence so named. It is certainly a ghastly close to the history of Dunfermline as a royal residence. Of all the perjuries which stain the name of the second Charles, perhaps none sink him—perhaps nothing *could* sink him—lower than that Declaration. The building was allowed to fall in, from decay, early in 1708, and nothing was ever done to restore it. It had lived to see 1707.

Another very striking instance of the results of the Union may be seen in the magnificent Palace of Linlithgow, burnt by the English troops after their defeat at Falkirk, January 17, 1746, and which has remained un-restored then and since.

Again, one more mark of the change is the present condition of the castellated Palace of Stirling. You will see for yourselves the state of its buildings, the abandoned terraces of its garden, its distimbered and neglected park, its pleasaunce and tilting-yard turned into a cemetery,—a fate which is just impending over the historic hill-top which lies beneath its eastern wall.

There is, perhaps, no place in Scotland around which so many memories of all historical epochs cluster as around the tract of land which can be seen from the Rock of Stirling. From the very formation of the Rock it must have naturally suggested itself as a site for the rude fortifications of the earliest savages; but I am not aware that it appears in history before the time of the historic Arthur. About his period it shares with Whitehorn, Dundonald, Dumbarton, Dundee, Dunpelelder, and Edinburgh, the honour of being the site of one of the seven Scottish churches of Edana, from whom I have no doubt that the last named city, Edinburgh, is called; unless, indeed, her name has been here assimilated by sound to that of a still earlier title of Eiddyn. However, I am not here to speak of Edinburgh.

As to Stirling, I may as well finish at once what I wish to say upon it. Your attention will be called to the

great Friars' Church in which, among other events, Mary and James VI were anointed and crowned. It is now slowly undergoing the process of restoration, which has as yet extended only to the chancel. It is obvious that in the Middle Ages it was partially rebuilt, this chancel being the portion where the work was accomplished. You will be interested in observing in both portions some of the consecration-crosses still upon the walls. With regard to the present restoration there are one or two things to be said. I trust that it will be neither accompanied nor followed by any modern outrage upon the usages of the past, such as the stone pulpit with which St. Giles', Edinburgh, has been disfigured; but that a wooden pulpit will be placed on the south side, in the best position for hearing, as the Mediævals would have done, and is done now in the great churches of France and Belgium. There are also three particular features upon which to be very careful,—(1), if the side-chapels originally opened into the nave, they ought to be carefully re-incorporated with it, and not left as ruinous burial-vaults,—leaning to against the outside; (2), if the sham vaulting of the nave is to be interfered with at all, I trust that it will only be interfered with with very great caution. I know the present vaulting dates only from about 1820, but I suspect it is the successor of a much earlier. Unless upon the very clearest proof, I am not a believer in open timber roofs in Mediæval Churches. I believe they generally had flat ceilings, as at Aberdeen, or sham vaulting, as at Paisley. (3), No one can doubt that there was a chancel-screen. Its top was almost certainly occupied by a gallery, as at Glasgow. Very likely it bore the Royal Throne, as at Frankfort, or at Rheims at the coronations of the Kings of France. Its position is now occupied by a wall, as used to be the case at St. Giles', Edinburgh; and I remember that the Queen's Throne, under a curious wooden baldachin (recalling that at Rheims, at the French coronations), was on a gallery in the midst of that wall. I greatly fear that in the sweeping restoration of St. Giles' not only may the Royal Throne have been deposed from its ancient position, but the only remains of the mediæval screen may have gone with the party-wall which had been erected upon it. I implore the

authorities of Stirling to be careful how they tamper with the wall across their chancel-arch.

It is, perhaps, as well not to leave the subject of the great Church of Stirling without recalling the fact that here was buried, in 1419, at the north corner of the altar, the person who had been for so many years recognised and treated by the Scottish Government as Richard II of England, and, in the judgment of Tytler, upon very good grounds. I am not aware that any traces of the tomb have been discovered.

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As I am speaking of ruins, and have come to speak of Churches, I may as well speak at once of the ecclesiastical ruins which you are to visit. This is worth doing if it were only to protest against the vulgar delusion that all phenomena of this sort are to be ascribed to the Reformation. It is not so. Other men's sins in this respect are too often laid to the Reformers' doors. The only ruin due to them which you will see is Cambuskenneth. It was one of the pious and Royal foundations of David I, commonly called "The Saint", dating from or about 1147; and its materials are believed to have been, to a great extent, utilised by the Earl of Mar (afterwards Regent) in order to build Mar's Wark at Stirling,—the curious building, which I have already named, which was never completed, and which you will see as a crumbling ruin. Even so, the work of destruction was not the deed of the Reformers as such, but of the lay impropiator. On Sept. 13, 1563, on the complaint of the inhabitants of the town that the walls, leaden roof, glass windows, etc., were in a bad condition, the Lords of the Secret Council ordered the commendator, Robert Pitcairn, to put them in proper repair. The eastern part of the walls of the choir and Lady Chapel did not fall in till the end of 1672, and the remains of the building were pulled down—not at the Reformation, but—in the month of November 1819. It is also said that the easternmost portion of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, which contained the Royal tombs and the shrine where St. Margaret lay in death as in life, by the side of Malcolm III, was "cast down" by the Reformers on March 28, 1560. But it is difficult to tell



what this actually means. Its site is, in any case, now occupied by an entirely new building, while the old nave remains still entire.

The old parish church of Rothesay owes its destruction to the beginning of the present century. The ruined chancel contains, *inter alia*, an empty tomb, which has been conjectured to be one of several erected by Robert II to himself, to meet possible contingencies as to the circumstances of his death.

The church of St. Blane, in South Bute, was only abandoned in 1703, owing to the movement of population. It is Norman, but a square Gothic chancel has been substituted for the apse. There is a stone coffin outside it, which, some would fain have it, contains the body of St. Blane, whom Bower states to be buried in Bute. I own I cannot accept this, and, to the best of my recollection, the skeleton it contains is that of a young woman. I had it bound round with bronze bands to prevent tourists displacing the lid in order to look at the remains. The churchyard contains some curious pre-Reformation gravestones of persons of the humbler classes, in the shape of small stone crosses.

Near St. Blane's are several sockets of standing crosses, and a curious prehistoric building, which the Ordnance Survey calls, I believe, "The Devil's Cauldron." From its position it cannot have been meant for defence. It seems too massive for a dwelling. Was it, then, a temple or a tomb? Perhaps both. When I was a child it was said that to sleep on a splinter of a certain tree which grew in it produced oracular dreams. The circumstance is, perhaps, the survival of some tradition of a religious or at least preternatural character still surviving as attached to the building.

Dunblane Cathedral, or at least its nave, was roofless in 1238. It seems very uncertain whether it had ever had a roof. It was roofed with great exertions, and on April 12, 1304, Edward I ordered all the lead to be stripped off, except that above the altars, for use in the siege of Stirling Castle. I know not if it was ever roofed again. It was roofless in the days of Charles I, roofless it remained when Slezer prepared his *Theatrum Scotiae* in 1693, and roofless it remains. It is now on the point of

being completely restored, and, as far as I am aware, the work is to be done in the most careful and conservative manner. It owes its initiative to the sense of the Heritors, but is almost entirely executed by the pious munificence of Mrs. Wallace of Gusingall. Her name will, I trust, be surrounded with the gratitude which it deserves, and I hope that this very important and interesting work will not only more than satisfy her hopes, but that it may be effectual in raising up in other quarters the desire to execute similar patriotic and artistic works of renewal.

You will observe at Dunblane the very remarkable plan of the wall which separates the chancel from the nave. I imagine that it may have been masked by some immense wooden structure in the nature of a roodloft.

The remaining specimen of an ecclesiastical ruin which you will see is Paisley Abbey. It was created, in 1163, by Walter, the first High Steward of Scotland, as, I might say, the expression of the religious and cultured sentiment of the great house of Fitzalan, otherwise called Stuarts, to which he belonged, and the descendants of which have now occupied the throne for more than five centuries, down to our present Sovereign and Patroness. In one respect this building, or rather the site of part of it, will present the saddest feature which will meet your eyes in Scotland.

The transepts, lantern, and chancel, must have been in ruins for some time; but the domestic buildings of the Abbey were standing, mostly still roofed, including the great cloister-garth. They were very remarkable, both historically and artistically. Among other striking features was one side of the great hall of the refectory with its rows of stone arches. The buildings were mainly, I believe, of the Twelfth Century, but must have been restored in the Fifteenth, under Abbot Shaw, as some of the decorative sculpture bore his arms. The ambulatory of the cloister had possessed the remarkable feature of being of wood. You will still see against the south wall of the Church traces of the manner in which it was attached. There were, I believe, only two specimens of the domestic buildings of an Abbey in Scotland. If anything were to have been destroyed, it is needless to remark that the

Church could have been better spared, as although the clerestory-gallery is—perhaps happily—unique, there are plenty of Churches, whereas monumental piles of Mediæval building of a character not only domestic but historic, are, at least in Scotland, almost non-existent. Well, within the last few years, it is all gone, in order to straighten the street by 18 inches or 2 feet (I forget which), and has given place to a grimy plot of grass and an iron railing. The two remaining sides of the cloister-garth now present, in their aspect of ghastly mutilation, somewhat the same effect as that of a human face after the nose has been cut off.

While, however, it is impossible not to bewail the past, it is needful to remember the future. The historical and, in one sense, the artistic treasure has been annihilated for ever; but the architectural and, in another sense, the artistic feature can still be restored; and in any work of which Paisley Abbey may become the subject, the first thing to do ought to be to erect a new square of buildings (Church offices or anything else you please) exactly upon the old foundations, harmonising with the Church, and reproducing as far as possible the general idea of what has been lost.

(I.)—If I may be allowed, in addressing a severely scientific assembly like the present, to draw a comparison from any work of fiction, however famous, I may be permitted to compare the transition from the ruins of the Third Period of Scottish history to the obscure creative energisms of the First, and the strong life of the Second, to the transition of Faust when, turning from the modern pathos of Margaret, and before throwing himself into the fair, old-world dream of Helen, he seeks the mysterious place of the Divine Mothers, the origins of things.

It is in this, the Earliest Epoch, that we find the first dim light shed upon the origins of Scottish History. I know that this period, especially that portion of it which may well precede, or does certainly precede, all written records, possesses a peculiar charm for many archæologists, especially such as are students of anthropology. To them a kitchen-midden or a flint arrow-head is more attractive than the noblest works of Mediæval Art. On the other hand, these subjects undoubtedly share the



darkness in which Goethe has wrapped the ancient causes of what is, and which is calculated to rouse less sympathy in the ordinary reader than the woes of Margaret, and to prove less attractive than the known historical regions of Sparta and Arcadia, where the union of Learning and Sensuality engenders the buoyant life of Euphorion, gracious even if illusory, attractive even if fleeting.

Of these very early works you have only included two as of special importance, viz., the prehistoric hill-fort which you visited yesterday at Langside, and Tapock Broch, which you are to see to-morrow.

Of the prehistoric fort at Langside, which you have already seen, I do not think there is any necessity that I should speak ; not only for that reason, but because I am not aware that it presents any very exceptional feature. Of Tapock Broch I dare not speak, except to remark that it is one of some three or four instances of this peculiar class of building found outside the extreme North; because, if I once began the subject of brochs, I should not know when to stop. Fortunately, the whole subject has received great attention from the learned. Perhaps none has treated it with wider information and intelligence, or in a more interesting and attractive manner, than Dr. Joseph Anderson, whose admirable *Rhind Lectures* are, I trust, familiar to most of you. A more agreeable as well as a more trustworthy guide in Early Scottish Archæology it would be impossible to find.

The mention of the name of this eminent man naturally suggests the thought of another peculiar class of ancient fortification of which he has treated, viz., Vitrified Forts, or those in which the wall has been consolidated by being molten, and of which, although the examples are not uncommon in Scotland, there is not a single case in England, and few in Ireland or on the Continent. You may have time to visit an inferior or, rather, much ruined specimen at Dunagoil ("the Fort of the Gael") in Bute.

In Bute, also, you will be shown a specimen of the Standing Stones, of which the island possesses several examples. I neither venture nor mention any hypothesis with regard to their date and object.

Of the singular prehistoric building which some one has called "The Devil's Cauldron", close to the church of St. Blane, I have already spoken.



The earliest written historical documents which we possess are naturally those bequeathed to us by the Roman writers, and that great people have also left here material traces of their power. The history and monuments of the Roman occupation of Britain have so long formed the battlefield of the learned that it is little to be wondered at that the disputes which they engender should have become the jest of the frivolous (if I may dare to apply that word to the author of *The Antiquary*), and certainly no cause of surprise that they inspire a certain terror in outsiders, among whom I confess that I must be numbered. You are to visit only three objects of this class, viz., the camp at Ardoch, which I believe is generally admitted to have been the headquarters of the Roman invaders under Agricola, at least in the winter of 80-81, after the third summer of his campaign, in which he first pressed forward into the North; secondly, a portion of the Wall of Antonine, so called because erected under that Prince in or soon after 139, by Lollius Urbicus, when it was desired to incorporate Lothian and Strathclyde definitely and finally with the territories of the empire. It is the opinion of Dr. Skene that the so-called building of the Wall of Severus consisted in the strengthening and improving, in the first decade of the Third Century, of that of Antonine.

Rough Castle, the third Roman monument which you are to visit, is one of the numerous stations upon this Wall, and perhaps not of its earliest period. I thankfully leave the subject to abler hands, and in doing so I would only ask leave to throw out one suggestion. Is it not possible that Calphurnius Agricola, who was sent to see to the attacks of the free natives against this wall in 162, may have been a progenitor, or at least supplied the patronymic, of the father of Patrick?

I have just named the present Historiographer Royal, but it would in any case be unseemly to leave the subject of the Earliest Period of Scottish History without offering some tribute of grateful homage to the manner in which it has been elucidated by his labours. Armed with the admirable accomplishments of a scientific knowledge of both Welsh and Gaelic, he has applied his extraordinary genius, learning, acumen, and patience, to this

subject to such an extent as practically to revolutionise the study. Nor has his work affected documents only ; his identification of many an historical site has rendered some hitherto silent monument of what was called the prehistoric epoch, eloquent with the voice of history. So great is his position in the historical field that many later writers seem inclined to adopt a position which may well seem to clothe itself in an adaptation of a dogma attributed to some Mediæval philosophers, and to be well capable of expression in the words, "*Skene errásse dicere, absurdum est.*" No one would shrink more from so dubious an honour than the learned Doctor himself. Nor is it less a homage to him to say that his learning is so vast and so varied, and covers a field so extended, that it is impossible but that he must have left in it much from which other writers (such, for instance, as the Rev. Colin Grant) may be expected yet to benefit the learned, or rather the learning, world with immense stores of information and observation.

This Early Period is that in which Scotland gradually awoke to the consciousness of herself, and in which she assumed, roughly speaking, her natural territorial outline, save that the consequences of the victory of Carham, in 1018, under Malcolm II, were not pushed to their full logical result, and the Southern portion of her province of Bernicia (the portion, that is, lying between the Tweed and the Tyne), recognised as early as the time of Hadrian, when he drew his Wall, as an integral part of the Northern land, remained alienated and estranged from it and her to whom it belongs by race, and attached to England ; although it is needless to remark that it was only formally resigned by the Treaty of Chester during the boyhood of Malcolm IV ("The Maiden") in 1157, and that it has been occasionally occupied by the Scottish troops even down to so late a date as 1640, when the Covenanters again held it for nearly a year ; in fact, they did not finally abandon Newcastle till January 1647.

(II.)—The Second, or Mediæval, Period of the History of Scotland, as I venture to term that which intervenes between the reigns of Macbeth and of Mary, may be called the Helen of Scottish archæology, as distinguished,

upon the one hand, from the dim and distant Mothers of the Earliest Period, and on the other from the Gretchen of modern ruin. Here Learning is able, as it were, to raise the phantom of the Past in beauty from the grave. It is this Period which has left the greatest number of material monuments. With these alone can you be said, as archæologists, to be directly concerned. But at the same time it cannot be forgotten that the monuments of this Period, from the fact that we know about the personal history of the people who made them and lived in them, are instinct with a human interest which is necessarily wanting to those of the Earlier Epoch. At the same time also it would be an altogether imperfect view of this Period which overlooked its immense political importance. It is this Period which may be said to have formed the Scotland of the present, by developing its social system, and by giving birth to those institutions, such as the jurisprudence and the Universities, which are the subject of special attachment and pride. Not unnaturally, therefore, is it that it is the thought of this Period which still affects the popular patriotic sentiment more than any other. At the present day the two names which are popularly the most idolised are those of two Mediævals, namely William Wallace and Robert Bruce ; and so intense is the feeling which they inspire that I doubt whether you could find one adult in five hundred, among the natives of this country, who can hear them without more or less of emotion.

This Period is peculiar ethnologically. The Scottish people were then, as it were, in one sense alone. The nation was, on the one hand, unaffected by the consequences which have followed the Unions, first of the Crowns and then of the Parliaments ; and, on the other hand, it was consolidated from the embryotic condition of the earlier ages. It underwent no other very important territorial changes. In 1092 William Rufus practically conquered, and even partially colonised with English immigrants, the southern portion of Strathclyde, forming the old diocese of Carlisle ; in 1157, Malcolm the Maiden (a boy in his 'teens) was induced formally to surrender it along with the southern portion of Bernicia, of which I have already spoken ; and the attempt of William the Lion to



set it free in 1173 was a failure. In the Thirteenth Century the disputed and uncertain power of the kings of Norway over the Western Islands was brought to a close. The Isle of Man was conquered in 1313, but again lost in 1333. In 1468, in consequence of the marriage of James III with Margaret of Denmark, Orkney and Shetland fell peacefully into union with their geographical affinities.

Owing to the peculiar condition of Scotland during the Middle Ages this period has left its monuments not only in nearly every institution, but in nearly all the historical and artistic buildings in the country. I notice that nearly everything which is included in your programme is something which owes its origin to this epoch,—Glasgow, Bothwell, Craignethan, Torwood, Stirling, Cambuskenneth, Rothesay, Doune, Dunblane, Paisley, Falkirk, Linlithgow, Dunfermline. Of most of these I either need not speak or have spoken already.

You have already seen the Castle and Church of Bothwell. I will only remark that in that most interesting and valuable new work, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, by Messrs. M'Gibbon and Ross, this Castle is styled our finest of the thirteenth century; indeed, probably the grandest ruin of its kind in Scotland. Interesting as is its history (it was thither, by the way, that Bishop Bek betook himself for refuge after the Battle of the Brae, in 1297), it has probably struck you most, and the Church in a lesser degree, as a monument of the great House of Douglas during the dizziest period of their elevation, to which it owes so much of its present form.

You have also seen Craignethan, likewise the property of the Earl of Home, which is interesting as the work, for the most part, of a professional architect, James Hamilton of Finnart, who was Superintendent of Royal Palaces in what I may style the very last portion of the Mediæval epoch.

Of the places which you have not seen as yet, I may first mention Falkirk. I may, perhaps, as well remind you that the local custom of prefixing the definite article to the name of the Faw-kirk or Fal-kirk is correct, the meaning being simply "the particoloured Church"; the l



in "Fal" I conceive to be the same as appears in *fallow* deer. It belonged to the Templars, and I conjecture, from their Oriental connection, that it may have been externally polychromed in the Eastern manner, possibly with broad horizontal bands of red and white, as is so often the case with mosques and mausoleums, and sometimes with Greek churches. Around it lie many of the heroic dead of July 22, 1298; and there is the monument of John Graham, whose burial William Wallace himself attended, very probably on the night of the 28th.

Finally, you will see the very splendid Castle or castelated Palace of Doune, the work of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, the first cousin of James I, who caused him and two of his sons to be executed upon his return from England in 1424.

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While I have thus divided the periods of the History of Scotland, and the monuments of each of them which you purpose to visit, into these three heads, I may be allowed to recur to the remark that there are places in which the continuous series of monuments, or even the persistence of local tradition or family ownership, form a remarkable testimony to the moral unity of the national life. Thus the Castle of Doune, of which I have just spoken, is still the property of the Earl of Moray, Lord Doune, the descendant, through the Lords Avondale, of the unfortunate Prince by whom it was founded. Thus, again, you find Bothwell in the possession of the noble and cultured man who is, in one sense, the principal representative of the illustrious race of Douglas, and to whom historical students have been laid under so deep an obligation by his printing the family papers of his House. In a certain sense a like remark might be made even of Stirling. I was a good deal struck by it last year when I heard the cannon of the Castle saluting, by the command of our august Patroness, the Queen, the colossal statue of William Wallace, which the kindness of the local authorities conferred upon me the honour of unveiling upon the Abbey Craig. Again it is true, in a sense, of Dunfermline, where the reverence of the living generation, not less than the antique architecture of the Eleventh Century, still watches by the grave where

Bruce was laid in the Fourteenth. Nor do I suppose there is a living adult in Scotland who does not now warmly nurse the hope that no outrage, even under the cover of a temporary excitement, violated the tomb—it could not disturb the last sleep—of the holy and harmless Margaret.

But perhaps no more striking instance of the unity and continuity of the national life can be met with than that which is placed before the mind, and to a great extent even the eye, in Glasgow Cathedral. Built upon a spot consecrated by Ninian probably before the Roman troops were finally withdrawn from Britain, when Patrick M'Calphurn was a child playing upon the banks of the Clyde, in sight of Dumbarton (Ninian, indeed, can hardly fail to have been one of those who, as Patrick himself tells us in that marvellous work, his *Confession*, warned his people for their good, and was little heeded), selected by Kentigern as the spot for that centre of worship which has proved the germ of the Glasgow of to-day; consecrated by Joscelin, in the presence of St. David, on July 7, 1136, it stands to-day as perfect in its architectural grace as it stood some 500 or 600 years ago. Bishop Wishart, or Zachary Boyd, Leighton, or Dr. Burns officiate within it, and Edward I, Robert Bruce, or Cromwell worship. And Kentigern sleeps quietly through it all, in his narrow bed beneath the crypt, in one thing at least never made the victim of a change, namely, in the affectionate respect with which the citizens of the city he founded have never ceased to surround his memory and his grave, how diverse soever may have been the voices in which they have professed continuously the aspiration of their motto, "Let Glasgow flourish by the Preaching of the Word."

If the contemplation of the past has at last brought me to a sacred subject, I may be permitted to cite another for the purpose of coming again to the secular and turning to the future. I have drawn a comparison from the phases of Goethe's great drama. Perhaps the significance of its close is too solemn to lend itself properly to another image. At the same time there are probably few who have read that marvellous closing scene for the first time without an impression so vivid as almost to amount to a

thrill on meeting the reappearance of Gretchen quickened in a newer and nobler life, and glad in an enduring happiness. If I have used her ruin as some image of the destruction in this land of things which have been good and beautiful, I may end by the expression of a hope that a brighter day is yet to come for historical and artistic Scotland. The inborn energy of the country sometimes seems at last to be struggling successfully even against the terrible legacy of the last century, that century which, whatever it may have been elsewhere, was to Scotland and to every development of Scottish national feeling, whether artistic or other, so truly a valley of the shadow of death, and a new spirit of culture to be arising, quickened by an increased vitality of national sentiment.

As a help in such a direction I would hail the meetings in Scotland of such bodies as the British Archaeological Association. The culture and the learning, as well as the intelligent interest in native monuments, shown by those like yourselves are, I trust, eminently calculated to enlighten the ignorant, to arouse the careless, to stimulate the thoughtful and the artistic, and to intensify the feeling of the patriotic. That this visit may be the last as well as the first I have ventured strongly to hope may not be the case. I believe that this country possesses district after district not less interesting in themselves, except as regards the Parish Churches (and even these more so than is often thought) than the provincial districts of England, although they are of course fewer in number; and it may be added that their typical interest goes far to outweigh such disadvantages as they may possess from not presenting, for instance, an interminable series of Perpendicular Churches.

There is Dumfries, for instance, "The Queen of the South" as she is fondly called, the centre of an immense mass of monuments of Galloway and Southern Strathclyde,—prehistoric antiquities in abundance; the monuments of the campaign of Agricola in 79; the monuments of Roman and Romano-British Christianity which centre round Whithorn; the monuments which mark the site of the battle of Ardderyd, that struggle which may, perhaps, be said to have decided the religion of the British race; the six great abbeys,—Glenluce, Soul-Seat, Dundrennan, Tong-



land, Holywood, and that New Abbey which the memorable foundress of Balliol College raised to enshrine the "sweet heart" (*dulce cor*) of her husband; castles such as Lochmaben or Caerlaverock, down to the splendid specimen of a decorated mansion of the time of Charles I, which forms part of the remarkable group of buildings which constitute the last named.

I will only speak, in passing, of Edinburgh, surrounded by the castles, the houses, the Churches, and the Abbeys of the Lothians, so many of the ecclesiastical monuments of which owe their present ruin to the savage government of Edward VI; of St. Andrew's, "the house of the Apostle", bestowed upon him by Angus, King of the Picts, in the Eighth Century,—so strange a contrast to the hills and plains of Galilee, or to the sun-baked cliffs under which Amalfi is washed by the waters of the Gulf of Salerno, and which yet is filled with history and the monuments of history from the Sixth Century down to our own time, and is the only place in Scotland which can inspire the visitor with the most distant thought of Oxford; and of the granite city of Aberdeen with its imperishable Cathedral, its University buildings, and its neighbourhood replete with edifices of every age, especially the Mediæval and the Renaissance.

Oban offers a centre for studies which may be described as almost entirely Celtic, from the purely prehistoric epoch, through that which has left upon Dunadd the engraven footprint of a progenitor of our Kings, probably that of Fergus McErcu himself, the very founder of the Scottish Monarchy,—a sculpture which in that case dates from the dawn of the Sixth Century, when Arthur was in the flower of manly strength, and which yet indicates the beginning of a line of Sovereigns of whom our Royal Patroness of to-day is but one; the sacred remains which mark Eilean na Naoimh, whence Columba came forth in 574, charged with the task of blessing Aidan McGabhraín, that great Prince who, in the judgment of Dr. Skene, is the founder of our Monarchy in a more real sense even than Fergus, and is a singular link between the past and the present, as at once the last representative in Britain of the Roman *Imperatores* and the founder of the line which still reigns over us; and the hallowed shores of I,



where he fulfilled the mandate, and which are eloquent with so much more of which I will not now speak ; and an almost countless number of the forts, the dwellings, the castles, and the sanctuaries of the Gael.

Lastly, if you come to the extreme North of the nightless summer, you will find yourselves transferred, in large measure, from the antiquities of Britain to those of Scandinavia, in the atmosphere of Orkney,—a land so singularly rich in ancient monuments of every sort that it seems almost invidious to name the Stones of Stennis ; the Maeshowe, attested by the inscriptions of returners from the first Crusade as being already to them a building of unknown and mysterious antiquity ; the Round Tower of Egilsha, which brings the antiquary again into touch with Ireland ; the singular fortresses, called brochs, of which these islands are the chief home, and which are found there and on the neighbouring mainland literally in hundreds ; the wonderful Cathedral of Kirkwall, commenced in 1137, so interesting as the result of the genius of an amateur, Kol, the father of Earl Rögnvald II, and where skill has so singularly reversed one of the most glaring blunders of the great Vatican Basilica, that instead of size being lost in proportion, proportion causes a small building to overwhelm by the sense of size ; lastly, perhaps, though not least, two other great historic monuments of later days,—monuments of greatness and of fall,—the Palaces of Kirkwall and of Birsay.

But here I will stop. I may very likely owe you an apology both for the length, and as some, I fear, may call it, the diffusive irrelevance,—perhaps some would add the wearisomeness and contentiousness—of much that I have said. I can only renew my plea for your indulgence upon the ground of the peculiar position in which you have been pleased to put me, and that having so done you must not expect from your servant more than he is able to give. I will end as I began, by saying that whatever our shortcomings, and in whatever respects they may strike you, I am sure that I am speaking the feelings not of myself only but of my neighbours and fellow-countrymen also, when I again most warmly bid the British Archæological Association welcome to Scotland.

## THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE.

BY A. M. SCOTT, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read at the Glasgow Congress, 27 August 1888.)

QUEEN MARY, in the manner narrated in Nau's *Memoirs*, escaped from Lochleven Castle on Sunday evening, 2nd May 1568, between seven and eight o'clock. She arrived at Hamilton the next day. Tradition would have it that between the 3rd of May and the 13th (the date of the battle) she resided in Cadzow Castle, Castlemilk, and also in Draffan Castle,—the "Tillietudlem" of *Old Mortality*; but it is unquestionable that she resided all the time at Hamilton, where there was a castle, the predecessor of the present Palace.

During this time Regent Murray was residing in Glasgow; in fact he was engaged, as Scotch lawyers would phrase it, in justiciary business in the Castle of Glasgow, which in part has been reproduced in the Glasgow International Exhibition. The Regent was fairly well informed of what the Queen was doing at Hamilton, and particularly of her desire to retire to the stronghold of Dumbarton as soon as she could gather a sufficient force. But of one important matter he was ignorant. He did not know whether in her march to Dumbarton she would proceed by the north or the south side of the Clyde. That was not decided on till the appointment of the Earl of Argyll to the command of the army, early on the morning of the 13th, immediately before her forces began to march.

The Regent's ignorance of the line of march led to certain tactics on his part. In case the Queen followed the south side of the river, he had the high ground (Langside, in the neighbourhood of the line of march) surveyed by Kirkcaldy of Grange; and should the north side be followed, he determined to draw up his troops on the high ground of the Calton of Glasgow (the Muir of Glasgow), and directly meet his opponents. Or, again, should he find that the south side of the river was followed,

then it was quite possible that by a rapid cavalry movement, followed quickly by infantry, he could occupy Langside Hill before the Queen's forces got that length. These tactics were strictly observed by the Regent. The Queen kept to the south bank of the river, but she was intercepted at Langside.

Now from this flagstaff-mound of the Queen's Park (the south side recreation ground of the citizens of Glasgow) we see the city, as it were, at our feet ; the town of Rutherglen, a couple of miles to the east, on the line of the ten miles' march from Hamilton to Langside ; the old road on the south side, proved by old maps to have been the public road on that side of the river at the Langside period, from Hamilton ; the gentle eminence of Clinkart Hill over there to the east, on which the Queen's forces were posted. The left division of the Regent's forces was placed in the Bandstand Park, just at our feet ; and the right division at Langside village, concealed from us at this point, less than 500 yards to the south. You also see the line, in part, of the Langloan, extending from Clinkart Hill upwards to the village. Between the positions of the two armies (6,000 of the Queen's, and 4,000 of the Regent's) there was the valley.

The Queen's forces were too ardent, and rather undervalued the strength of their opponents. There was a slight artillery encounter, followed by a cavalry movement from the Queen's side, to permit of the rush made by Lord Claud Hamilton with the van up the Langloan to the village. In fact there were two cavalry encounters, in which latterly the Regent had the best of it, and the result was that Lord Claud was unsupported in attempting to overcome the Regent's right division at the village. The Regent's hagbutters, planted behind the village fences, did considerable execution among the pikemen composing the van ; but, notwithstanding, Lord Claud would probably have been victorious over the right division if it had not been for the superior strategy of Kirkcaldy, who was riding between the two wings to "make help where greatest need was". Kirkcaldy, at a critical juncture, with forces from the other division, made a flank movement on the van, which put it at once into disorder. He quickly drove home his advantage, and

almost immediately the van and the main part of the Queen's army got demoralised, and became the pursued.

The battle began probably about nine o'clock in the morning, and lasted three quarters of an hour. Some three hundred were slain on the Queen's side; at least four were killed on the Regent's side, and several were wounded. Both sides were equally armed and appointed. There was no complete armour worn on the occasion, and Burton's statement, in his *History of Scotland*, as to the amount of armour worn by the combatants at Langside, is exaggerated. The jack and steel bonnet were common armour among them, and the weapons consisted of pike, sword, lance-staff, bow, hagbut, pistolet, and dagger.

Scarcely any authentic relics of the battle remain. The district is full of myth regarding the battle, but almost the whole of it is quite unreliable. Most of it is mentioned in my small quarto on *The Battle of Langside*, published in 1885. There is scarcely any account of the battle that is accurate and satisfactory. No special account need be singled out, but most of the writers have obviously never visited the field. The field had never been marked by any cairn, and there was wide error even locally as to the facts of the battle and the battlefield. Certain local circumstances which need not here be mentioned, induced me some time ago to suggest publicly that the battlefield should be marked by an ornamental cairn at the entrance to the village, where the chief fighting took place. This cairn has now been erected, and one of the objects the Congress has in coming out here to-day is to assist at the ceremony, presided over by the Lord Provost of Glasgow, of handing over the custody of the completed Langside Battlefield Memorial to the proper authority.

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## GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

BY JOHN HONEYMAN, ESQ.

*(Read at the Glasgow Congress, 27 August 1888.)*

ALTHOUGH Glasgow Cathedral is one of the smallest, it is by no means the least interesting of British cathedrals. Like every other it requires to be very carefully examined before it is understood: indeed, I know no other so likely to lead a hasty observer to false conclusions. The history of the building can only be read in its architecture, for unfortunately the early records of the see have been lost, and we have no reliable information on the subject earlier than the fifteenth century.

The first thing which will probably strike the visitor to Glasgow Cathedral is the peculiarity of the site. Immediately to the west there is exactly the kind of site on which we would expect a cathedral to be built,—the summit of a gentle eminence, with the ground sloping gradually from it in all directions except north; but the building was reared entirely on the eastern slope, even the west gable being about 50 yards from the highest point, which was formerly somewhat further west than it is now. This peculiarity is not without significance. It points to the fact that even during the troublous times which preceded the constitution or reconstitution of the see by David I, all traces of the original Christian establishment had not been obliterated; that the spot where St. Mungo worshipped and was buried was still known and venerated. That spot was much more likely to be in the sheltered glen on the banks of the Molendinar than on the exposed knoll on which the Castle latterly stood; and there, over the Saint's tomb, the new church would naturally be erected, regardless of the structural difficulties to be encountered.

As we have not even a fragment *in situ* of older date than 1180, we must begin our history there. That fragment, which is situated at the south-west corner of the present crypt, seems to indicate that the church built

about that period had a crypt. Crypts were at that time fashionable, and here the configuration of the ground naturally suggested one. We know nothing more of this twelfth century church; but it seems probable that it had no nave, as we find that very early in the thirteenth century a nave was designed, and partly built, as it still stands. This has a transitional base, and even its plan may be recognised as transitional; but it is, nevertheless, unlikely that any of it was erected in the twelfth century, certainly no part of it above the level of the base-course. Inside we find, in this nave, the bases on the bench-table with square plinths and delicate mouldings decidedly earlier in character than the bases in the crypt or other bases in the nave, but still distinctly thirteenth century work.

Towards the middle of the thirteenth century (not, I think, before 1240) the crypt and choir were erected. It seems quite evident that from the commencement of this great work operations on the nave were entirely suspended, but that the transept at least was completed about the same time as the choir. The work was thereafter carried on westward slowly but steadily till the nave was finished, about forty or fifty years after the choir. It will be noticed that the base of the choir is entirely different from that of the nave. The same base is carried round the chapter-house, which was probably founded at the same time; but the chapter-house above the level of the base was not built till after the completion of the nave, probably about 1425-35. It was left down like the nave, so that nothing might interfere with the completion of the choir.

Immediately to the south of the transept there is a building carried up to the level of the choir-floor, and evidently designed to be higher,—indeed, the sill and jambs of one of the upper windows has been built,—which may have been intended as an extension of the transept, though I very much doubt it. This gives us the third variety of base, which will be noticed on looking at the building; and no part of it was erected before 1480.

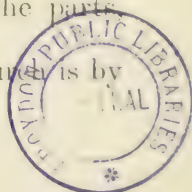
It is, perhaps, as well, when we come down to this period, that our conclusions as to dates should be verified

by documentary evidence, for whereas there is no material difference between English and Scotch contemporary styles down to the end of the thirteenth century, or nearly so, after that period they differ very considerably, and we find even local variations of Scotch styles. Any one unfamiliar with the later Scotch styles, and who did not know that this crypt was erected by Archbishop Blackadder in the sixteenth century, would be very much puzzled by this building. It is as unlike English work of the same period as can well be imagined. At first sight, looking at the outside of it, one would say that it was Early English. The builders seem to have done their best to copy from the adjoining crypt. The plan of the window-jambs is very much the same, and even the mouldings; but I have never seen an instance where a late workman has managed to make an early capital or base. The late work is sure to be detected there if nowhere else; and here, as both can be seen from the same spot, it is interesting to compare the one with the other.

The spire is the most modern portion of the building. The upper part of the tower was not erected till 1425, and the spire considerably later, so that we have the following sequence,—1st, portion of a building erected about 1170-90; 2nd, part of nave, *circa* 1200-20; 3rd, crypt and choir, 1240-80; 4th, upper part of nave, 1270-1300; 5th, chapter-house, *circa* 1425; 6th, tower, 1425; 7th, south crypt, 1500; 8th, spire. So that we have the remains of work done from time to time during a period of three hundred years.

I shall now refer to some of the most interesting and peculiar features of the building. The most interesting, of course, is the crypt. I have seen crypts which were as interesting to me because more puzzling, but none so beautiful. In this respect there is nothing at all to compare with it. It was the last important crypt built in Britain, and the designer had at his disposal the whole resources of the perfected Pointed style. He had also a most suitable site for the purpose: and it must be admitted that he made the most of his opportunities, as both the general disposition, and grouping of the parts, and all the details, are alike admirable.

The approach to the crypt from the upper church is by



two stairs going down north and south from the transept, turning east into the aisles. The north approach, east from the transept, has been completed in accordance with what has, no doubt, been the architect's original design, but he has not been allowed to repeat his beautiful design on the south side. Here it is that the fragment of old work to which I have referred still remains. Even at the risk of spoiling the principal entrance to the crypt, and in spite of extraordinary difficulties, that ancient piece of wall and a few superficial yards of vaulting have been retained. It is difficult to imagine an adequate reason for taking so much trouble about this little bit. It will be seen that the walls of this small chamber have actually been built under its transitional vault at three different periods.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the crypt is the variety of effect produced by the disposition of the small piers carrying the floor of the choir. The usual formality of parallel rows of piers and arches of the same height is entirely absent. There is a symmetrical arrangement of groups, but even that is not at first sight apparent, so skilful is the plan, and so varied the consequent treatment of the vaulting. The floor of the crypt, under the Lady Chapel, following the slope of the ground, is on a lower level than that of the main crypt, so that here another element of variety is introduced. The easternmost bays are divided from each other by solid walls; no doubt for structural reasons. These walls, however, are pierced by coupled, trefoiled arches utilised as piscinæ and credence-tables combined, an unusual but very beautiful form. It will be observed that the one in the centre has been altered. The centre shaft and the trefoil-arches have been cut out, and a single arch inserted, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, as the arch-mouldings plainly tell us. We have it also on record that Bishop Robert Wishart was buried here, between the altars of St. Peter and St. Andrew, in 1316.

At the south-east corner is a well, commonly called St. Mungo's Well, which has apparently been a source of danger to the building, which is here very much rent and twisted, and not at all in a satisfactory condition, as settlement still continues. At the opposite corner is a



rich, early door, the carving of which is much decayed, giving access to an apartment which I am inclined to think served as the chapter-house. I have never supposed that the apartment immediately above this was the chapter-house, but it did not occur to me that the one on the ground-floor (it is not sunk) may have been used for that purpose, till quite lately, when visiting it with Archbishop Eyre and Mr. Pugin, when the latter pointed to the raised, canopied sedile at the centre of the east side as strong evidence of this. I have since noticed that in the chapter-house at Inchcolm the seat is raised exactly in the same way, and at Crossraguel and elsewhere there is a similar niche formed. The beauty of the door, more elaborately enriched than any other in the building, is, I think, an indication that this was from the first intended to be the chapter-house. A turret-stair, also part of the original design, connects it with the vestry above and with the choir.

Returning to the transept, it will be observed that on descending the first flight of steps north and south you enter porches with elaborate groined vaults of the same age as Blackadder's crypt; but the piers from which this vaulting springs are of the same age as the main crypt. It would thus seem that the original design here was never completed, or that it was altered towards the end of the fifteenth century. There are, I think, indications that the latter was the case; and it is probable that when the entrance to the choir was narrowed by the erection of the present rood-screen, it may have been found advisable to improve the access to the choir by the aisles. I have no doubt that the steps down from the choir-aisles into the nave did not originally touch the base of piers at the west side of the transept as they now do rather awkwardly.

In the nave the most noticeable points are that the bases of the responds at the transept and the bases of the shafts on the aisle-walls are distinctly older than the bases of the main piers and the bases of the west responds. The piers might at first sight be taken to be older than the piers of the choir; but while I think the builders have been influenced by an older design (as in the case of the chapter-house), they have taken such

liberties with it in matters of detail as to prove that the work was actually executed after the erection of the choir. Thus on these piers we have not only the later base, but the fillets on the shafts, and a somewhat clumsy late variety of capital.

Again, the mouldings of the arcades have rather an early look ; but, of course, if I am right as to the piers, they cannot be early. I do not rely upon that, however. It is quite clear that these are not transitional mouldings. We have such mouldings in their simplest form at Jedburgh, Dryburgh, and elsewhere ; and there, as invariably during the transitional period, and for some time thereafter, each group of mouldings is in section square : at their greatest projection the mouldings would touch lines at right angles to each other. Here, however, each group would be enclosed by part of a circle ; and being almost devoid of under-cutting, they are unlike anything to be found in the early part of the thirteenth century. They are also quite unlike the mouldings in the choir executed about the middle of that century ; so that we really cannot find a place for them at all till near the close of the thirteenth century. We would not find a place for them then in England ; but they illustrate the divergence in styles to which I have already alluded as beginning about this period ; and, in fact, we find such mouldings with little relief slightly varied down to a very late period, as, for example, at Melrose and Haddington.

The triforium is evidently later than that of the choir, and so is the clerestory. There is a peculiarity about the north clerestory wall which I sincerely wish did not exist, namely, that it is seriously "off the plumb". I do not know the exact inclination, but I have no doubt that it is about 2 feet off the perpendicular.<sup>1</sup>

In the choir we have the somewhat unusual feature of a pier in the centre carrying the east gable, and over it four lancets instead of the more usual five. The plate-tracery of the side-aisle windows is also worthy of notice,

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written I have ascertained, through the courtesy of Mr. W. W. Robertson of H.M. Office of Works, Edinburgh, that the exact inclination is  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and that there is no indication of any increase having occurred since the present roof was erected.

being very peculiar. The arrangement of the east end is altogether exceptional, and has, no doubt, been influenced by the peculiarity of the site. The centre pier may be said to continue the arcade round the east end. The aisles are also continued round; but at this point the aisle is double, and the bays of the outer or east aisle have been used as chapels.<sup>1</sup> The design of the Lady Chapel, and of its east end especially, is exceedingly elegant. At the south-east corner there is a piscina, which is peculiar in that the drain is not taken down to the soil, but is simply taken through the wall, and discharged through a gargoyle on the outside. I have not noticed such an arrangement anywhere else in this country, but it occurs, I believe, at Nôtre Dame in Paris, where there is not the same excuse for it, the piscinæ being only a few feet above the level of the ground.

The chapter-house, as it is called, but what I prefer to call the sacristy, enters from the north side of the Lady Chapel. It is a lofty, vaulted chamber with a pier in the centre; but there is nothing to indicate that it was ever used as a chapter-house, but rather indications, in its ample fireplace and ambries, that it was meant for a sacristy.

The south crypt, commonly called "Blackadder's Aisle", or more correctly, as Mr. Andrew Macgeorge has shown (*Old Glasgow*), the "Aisle of Fergus", is chiefly interesting as an illustration of the pertinacity with which the Scotch architects stuck to the earlier forms long after their use had been discontinued in England. From the outside this looks much more like Early English than sixteenth century work, and even inside we can find no trace of the Perpendicular style, yet it was not begun

<sup>1</sup> This part of the building is known as the Lady Chapel, and is referred to in this paper under that name; but I entirely agree with Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock in the opinion that it is not a Lady Chapel. I am rather at a loss what to call it; the term suggested by Mr. Brock, retro-choir, not being quite appropriate. A Lady chapel may quite correctly be called a retro-choir; but this is not strictly a choir at all, but a double aisle, a row of chapels with an ambulatory between them and the choir, connecting the north and south aisles. It is precisely the French chevêt arrangement adapted to a square end. From an entry in *Registrum Glasguense*, vol. ii, p. 493, dated 21st May 1496, it appears that at that time the east end had not a distinctive name, but was simply known as part of the choir.

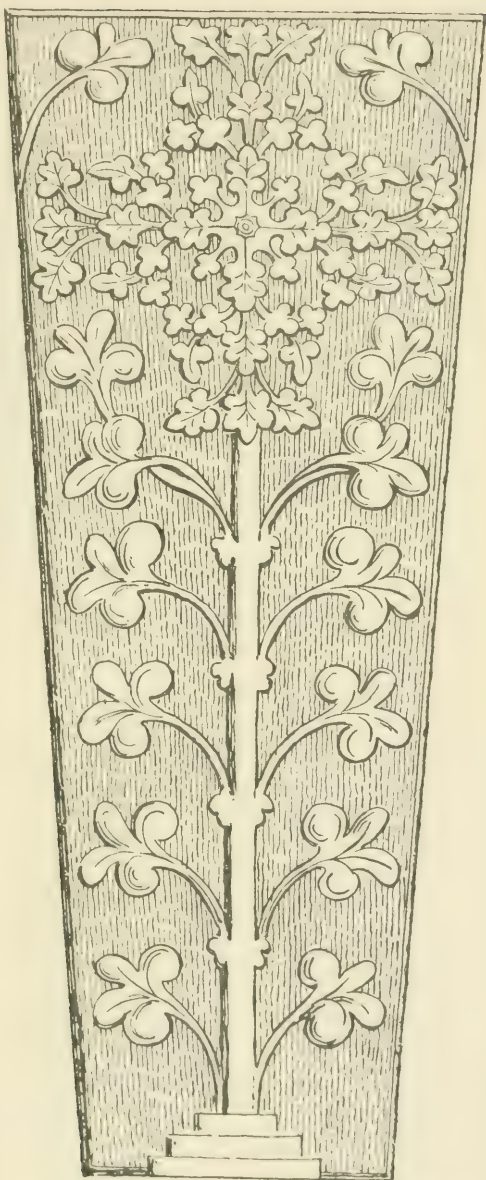
till the very end of the fifteenth century, and was probably not completed till the early part of the sixteenth.

With the exception of the effigy of Bishop Wishart, already referred to, and two stone coffins in the crypt, one of which has on its lid a very elegant foliated cross, there are at Glasgow no early monuments worthy of mention. This seems rather remarkable, especially as in the neighbouring churchyard at Govan a variety of most interesting pre-Norman monuments still remain. It is almost enough to raise a suspicion that St. Kentigern's Cathedral has, after all, been reared on the wrong spot! The monument of the Protestant Archbishop Law, at the south-east corner of the Lady Chapel, is an interesting example of its period, 1632; and there are several others in the same style, outside, worthy of notice.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Since the Congress met in Glasgow a very interesting sculptured slab has been found, with the figure of an ecclesiastic in low relief on the top, very much defaced, and with interlacing ornament in good preservation on the vertical edges of the stone.





EARLY COFFIN-LID AT GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.



## BOTHWELL CASTLE.

BY J. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, ESQ., F.S.A.SCO.

*(Read at the Glasgow Congress, 28th August 1888.)*

NEITHER the exact date of the erection, nor the name of the founder of Bothwell Castle, has been ascertained; but it unquestionably dates its origin from the thirteenth century, and various points of similarity between it and the Château de Coucy suggest the likelihood that its architect was assisted by a knowledge of the plan and details of that great fortress. It is not even improbable that he was himself a Frenchman brought over in consequence of the connection which about the middle of the thirteenth century must have existed between Scotland and France, through the fact that the mother of Alexander III was Marie de Coucy, a daughter of the illustrious house whose proud boast,

“Je suis ni roi ni prince aussi,  
Je suis le Sieur de Coucy”,

is so often quoted.

The Castle, in all likelihood, was built by the Olifards, who during the greater portion of the thirteenth century were lords of the barony of Bothwell, and one of whom, Walter de Olifard, Justiciar of Lothian, died in 1242. From them it passed into the hands of the Morays, but it is not clear by what means the latter family acquired it. Douglas throws out the suggestion that it may have been by the marriage of the heiress of the Olifards to one of the Morays, but of this there is no evidence whatever. We are, however, on firm ground in 1278, when we find Walter de Moravia or Moray granting from the Castle of Bothwell a discharge to the monks of Dryburgh of the multures of certain lands they held of him in Roxburghshire, in which county he seems to have owned the barony of Smailholm, also a former possession of the Olifards.

By his marriage with a daughter of John Comyn (a sister of the John Comyn who was one of the competitors for the Scottish throne) he had two sons. Of the

elder of these, William, who succeeded him, little is known save that he sat in the Parliament of Birgham in 1290, and swore fealty to Edward I in 1291. Dying about 1294 he was succeeded by his younger brother, Andrew, who although he had been forced into swearing allegiance to the English King, was one of the first to join the standard of Wallace in 1297, and remained staunch to the cause of national independence when the prospects of the patriotic party seemed blackest. Having, however, fallen at the battle of Stirling Bridge, he was succeeded by his eldest son, afterwards well known as the Sir Andrew Moray who played so conspicuous a part in Scottish affairs during the reigns of Robert the Bruce and David II.

At this time Bothwell Castle seems to have been in the hands of the English, as two years later, in 1299, we find the Scots besieging it for fourteen months, and only taking it by assault after the defenders had been reduced to the utmost straits. It was then held by the Scots till 1301, when Edward in person invested the fortress with a large force, and the garrison capitulated. The English King is known to have resided in the Castle from the 17th to the 20th of September 1301, when probably he made a formal grant of it to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. The Earl (from whom the Valence Tower in the Castle derives its name) seems to have retained it till May 1306, when it was retaken by the Scots. The latter, however, do not seem to have kept possession of it for any length of time, as at the date of the battle of Bannockburn Barbour tells us,

“The Erle of Herford from the mellé  
Departit with a grete menay,  
And straught to Bothwelle tuke the waye,  
That in the Inglis’ mennys fay  
Was halden as a place of wer.  
Schyr Walter Gilbertson was ther  
Capitaine, and it had in ward.”

Only the Earl and fifty of his men were admitted to refuge in the Castle, which was shortly thereafter surrendered to Edward Bruce, Walter Gilbertson probably deeming it desirable to cultivate friendly relations with the new rulers of Scotland. He seems to have very soon



succeeded in ingratiating himself with Robert I, and three years afterwards is spoken of as "*dilecto et fideli*", in a charter to him by that King of the lands of Machan, part of the forfeited possessions of the Comyns. From him sprang the house of Hamilton, which was destined subsequently to play so prominent a part in Scottish history.

On the recovery of Bothwell it was probably at once restored to its owner, Sir Andrew Moray, who had even at this time become one of the King's most trusted advisers. The office of "*Panetarius Scotiae*" was conferred on him, and as a further mark of the royal favour he was in 1326 allowed to marry King Robert's sister Christian, relict of Grartney, Earl of Mar, and of Sir Christopher Seton, for which a papal dispensation was procured, they being in the fourth degree of relationship.

After the battle of Dupplin, in August 1332, David II being then a child, Sir Andrew Moray was appointed Regent of the kingdom. Taken prisoner in an attack on Roxburgh next year, he was carried to England, but being liberated in 1334 he at once set about restoring the drooping spirits of his countrymen.

When, in 1336, Edward III overran Scotland, the Regent cautiously avoided an encounter in the field, and sought refuge among fastnesses, from which the Southrons in vain tried to dislodge him. At this time Bothwell Castle again fell into the hands of the English, and King Edward is known to have resided there from 18th November to 6th December 1336. During this period he issued from it a number of documents of considerable importance, fifteen of which have been preserved, including a writ ordering his Council to assemble at London to consider measures for defending England from the Scots and French. Shortly afterwards he withdrew to England, when Sir Andrew Moray, after retaking the Castles of Dunnottar and St. Andrews, in the words of Wynthoun,—

"Tuk the way to Bothwhyle,  
And lay assegeand it awhile,  
And braucht a gyne men called Bowstowre  
For till assayle that stalwart towre,  
And Gylyne the Willers that then  
Held the towre, and was worthi man,

Saw his vittals were ner gane,  
 And hop off secours had he nane,  
 Tretid and syne the castell yhalde,  
 His way to Ingland syne can halde."

This was in March 1337, and the Regent, having dismantled Bothwell, followed up his success by an incursion into Cumberland, which he ravaged and plundered. Next year he died at Avoch, in Ross-shire, and was buried in the church of Rosemarkie. Wyntoun says of him—

"He was a lord of gret bountie,  
 Off sober lyffe and off chastyté,  
 Wyse and vertuous of counsalle,  
 And off his gudis liberall.  
 He was of gret devotyoun  
 In prayers and in urisoun.  
 He was of mekill almous dede,  
 Stout and hardy of manhede."

He had two sons,—John, his successor, who dying without issue, in 1352, was succeeded by his younger brother, Thomas. The latter was one of the Commissioners appointed in 1357 to treat with the English for the ransom of David II, and being chosen as one of the three great lords who were to constitute themselves hostages for fulfilment of the conditions on which the liberation of the King took place, went to London, where he died of the plague in 1361. He left an only child, Jean, wife of Archibald the Grim, lord of Galloway, afterwards third Earl of Douglas, who succeeded to the Castle and lordship of Bothwell, on which account, according to Sir Robert Douglas, her husband is said to have added the three stars of Moray to his coat of arms, which previously had been *arg.*, a chief *az.* This is, however, a mistake, as the Douglasses undoubtedly carried the three stars before this marriage.

The history of the Douglasses is to a great extent the history of Scotland, and it is impossible, within the compass of this paper, to do more than notice in a most cursory manner the various members of that illustrious house who from time to time have owned the Castle of Bothwell.

In the life and achievements of Archibald the Grim himself there is alone material for a volume. He became, as has been said, third Earl of Douglas. As, however,

the second Earl had a half-brother, George Earl of Angus, and as Archibald was only an illegitimate son of the "Good Sir James", it is not quite clear how this arrangement was effected, unless, as Sir Robert Douglas suggests, he succeeded in consequence of an entail executed before the birth of the Earl of Angus, who was thirty years younger than his half-brother.

Whether or not Archibald the Grim was justly entitled to the earldom, he showed himself in every way a worthy son of his illustrious father, and of the traditions of the great house whose chief he found himself. Of his prowess in the field Froissart has given a vivid description in his account of the invasion of Northumberland by a combined Scots and French force in 1385, when the Castle of Wark was taken, and the country ravaged from Berwick to the north of the Tyne: "Archibald Douglas, a worthy knight, and much dreaded of his enemies, dismounted and held up before him a long sword. Its blade was of 2 ells. Scarce another man could raise it from the ground, yet he wielded it with ease, and dealt such heavy blows with it that wherever he reached he overthrew. Before him the hardiest of the English army shrank." And in the council chamber his wisdom and prudence were as notable as his bravery in the field. He is known to have frequently resided at Bothwell, and is believed to have been the restorer of the edifice, which had, doubtless, fallen into very great disrepair during the contests between the Scots and English for its custody. It is probable that the great hall (65 ft. by 32 ft.), the chapel, and other buildings were constructed by him, for they bear the Douglas arms on several places; and it was about the period of his possession of the barony that the Scots nobles first ceased to shut themselves up altogether in the donjons of their castles, and began to erect within the enceinte buildings with some pretensions to comfort. Dying in December 1401, he left, by his marriage with Joanna Moray, a daughter, Mary (whom a few months before his demise he had seen married, in Bothwell Church, to the ill-starred Duke of Rothesay, son of Robert III), and two sons, Archibald, the fourth Earl, and James, the seventh Earl.

The former of these, best known by his appellation of

"Tineman", seems to have been born under an unlucky star, as, despite good abilities and undoubted bravery, he was unsuccessful in most of the military enterprises he undertook. He commanded the Scots at Homildon, where he was wounded in five places, and taken prisoner. At Shrewsbury he was again worsted, and taken captive. In the spring of 1425 he went to France at the earnest request of Charles VII, who created him Duke of Touraine, and appointed him Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. He did not, however, long enjoy these honours, as, with his usual ill fortune, he was killed at the battle of Verneuil in August following. He is known to have lived for a time at Bothwell previously to his disastrous visit to France.

Archibald, the fifth Earl, as a young man distinguished himself at Baugé. On the death of James I he was appointed one of the Council of the Regency, and next year created Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. It is known that he latterly lived a good deal at Bothwell, and there is a charter of the barony to him and his second wife, Euphemia, daughter of Sir Patrick Graham, and the Countess of Strathearn, on his own resignation, dated 26th April 1425.

His son William, the sixth Earl, is only remembered as the victim of an ignoble plot of the Chancellor Crichton, who inveigled him into the Castle of Edinburgh, and after a mock trial had him beheaded, 24th November 1440.

James, the seventh Earl, known as "the Gross", was a prudent man, of whom history records very little.

William, the eighth Earl, husband of "The Fair Maid of Galloway", was stabbed by James II in Stirling Castle in February 1451-52, for declining to withdraw from a league with the Earls of Crauford and Ross, which the King deemed treasonable.

He was succeeded by his brother James, the ninth Earl, the last of the Black Douglasses, who, after the collapse of his revolt against the royal authority in 1454, was compelled to seek refuge in England, and Bothwell and his other estates forfeited to the Crown. He died a monk in the Abbey of Lindores, April 1488.

On the forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas, Bothwell was



bestowed by James III on James, second Lord Crichton, son of the Chancellor. Dying in 1469, he was succeeded by his son William, third Lord, who joining the Duke of Albany in his rebellion against the King, his estates were escheated to the Crown by Parliament on the 14th of February 1483-4.

The Castle of Bothwell was thus a second time in James' gift, and he now bestowed it on his favourite, Sir John Ramsay, whom he created a peer by the title of Lord Bothwell. Ramsay seems to have been a man of considerable ability, and was three times employed in embassies to England. Not unmindful of the hand from which he had received so many favours, he remained loyal to his ill-fated master in the hour of his misfortune, and was for so doing forfeited by Parliament, October 1488.

The lordship and Castle of Bothwell having again reverted to the Crown, James IV conferred it on Patrick Lord Hailes as a reward for his services at the battle of Sauchie. Ramsay, the former owner of the fortress, fled to England, but seems subsequently to have obtained permission to return to Scotland, where he is now known to have played the unworthy part of a spy of Henry VII. He never recovered either his title or the barony of Bothwell; but he had grants of other lands, and was the founder of the family of Ramsay of Balmain.

Lord Hailes, in addition to the grant of Bothwell Castle, received numerous other proofs of the royal favour. On the 26th of June 1488 he was appointed Keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh, and was subsequently named Master of the Household and Lord High Admiral of Scotland; the last an office, which by a curious coincidence his ill-starred descendant, whose name is so indissolubly linked with that of Mary Stuart, was also to hold. He had likewise a charter of Crichton Castle in Midlothian, and Dryfesdale and Kirkmichael in Dumfriesshire, and on the 17th of October 1488 James erected the lordship of Bothwell into an earldom in his favour.

The King seems at this time to have been afraid of the increasing authority of the house of Angus, and possibly feared that the "Red Douglasses" might attain to the power formerly exercised by the other great branch of the name. He therefore determined to check their grow-

ing influence on the borders, and accordingly commanded the Earl of Angus to give up Liddesdale and Hermitage Castle to Lord Hailes in exchange for the lordship and Castle of Bothwell.

The old fortress thus a second time passed into the hands of the Douglasses, and, as upon the former occasion when it was acquired by that family, its first owner was the most distinguished member of the branch to which he belonged, it was now to be the property of one who unquestionably stands out as the ablest and most prominent of the long line of the Angus Earls. Archibald "Bell-the-Cat" (to use the name by which he is best known in history) was one of the most notable historical figures of his day, and even a narration, in the briefest fashion, of the most important events in which he bore a part is quite beyond the limits of this paper. Hume of Godscroft says of him : " He was in every way accomplished both in mind and body, of stature tall, and strong made ; his countenance was full of majesty, and such as bred reverence in the beholders ; wise, and eloquent of speech, valiant, courageous, he was beloved and respected by all men." Dying in 1514, he was succeeded by his grandson, the sixth Earl, who married Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, the daughter of Henry VII.

Bothwell continued in the hands of the chiefs of the house of Douglas till about 1655, when it was given off as a patrimonial possession to Archibald Earl of Forfar, the only son of the second marriage of Archibald Earl of Angus, eldest son of William, first Marquess of Douglas. He built the present modern mansion, using the old Castle as a quarry from which to extract a large portion of the material required for its construction, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, second Earl, on whose death (unmarried), in November 1715, of wounds received at Sheriffmuir, Bothwell devolved on the Duke of Douglas. The last named nobleman possessed it till his death, in July 1761, when it and his other estates formed the subject of the lengthened litigation so well known as the Douglas cause, in which James, seventh Duke of Hamilton, who, as heir male, succeeded to the Marquessate of Douglas and Earldom of Angus, maintained that Archibald Stewart, the alleged son of Lady Jane Douglas (the

Duke of Douglas' sister) and her husband, Sir John Stewart of Grandtully, was a supposititious child. Eventually, on the 17th of February 1769, the House of Lords (reversing the decision of the Court of Session) decided the case in favour of Stewart, who was subsequently, in 1790, created a peer under the title of Baron Douglas of Douglas Castle. Bothwell now belongs to his descendant, Charles, twelfth Earl of Home, the son of Lucy, wife of Cospatrick, eleventh Earl, who was the eldest daughter of Jane Lady Montagu of Boughton, the latter being the eldest daughter of Lord Douglas.

It is, without question, the finest example of the feudal castles of Scotland, and like its prototype, Coucy, consists of a great donjon dominating an enceinte surrounded by high walls with towers at the corners. The donjon is 65 feet in diameter, and 90 feet in height to the top of the parapet, while the total length of the building is 325 feet by 170 feet in width. The north and east curtains (as has been pointed out by Messrs. M'Gibbon and Ross in their valuable work on the *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*) have evidently been rebuilt about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

I shall leave to my friend, Mr. Easton, the duty of describing the excavations now in progress, and the interesting facts they have already brought to light.

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## THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT SEE OF GLASGOW, A.D. 560-1560.

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THE history of the ancient see of Glasgow must be mainly the history of the Cathedral and of those who have sat in the chair of St. Kentigern. The architectural history of the old Cathedral, the only one on the mainland not a ruin, has been abundantly well illustrated. This paper is to give a brief account of the see, of some of its various occupants, and of the part they played in the history of a period ranging over exactly one thousand years.

We find the first mention of the site of the old Cathedral in connection with the history of St. Ninian. About twenty years before the Romans finally left Britain, and a few years before Ninian, in the year 397, built his church at Whithorn, he appears to have built a cell on the banks of the Molendinar. Jocelin, the monk of Furness, states that when Kentigern came to Strathclyde he made his settlement "near a certain cemetery which had long before been blessed by St. Ninian", and which was "surrounded by dense and overshadowing trees".

The founder of the see of Glasgow was this St. Kentigern, known also as St. Mungo. As St. Columba was the founder of the Christian Church among the Picts (563-97), his contemporary, St. Kentigern, was the apostle of Cumbria. He was born in the year 518 (or, according to some, in 527), and as Jocelin states that he was consecrated Bishop at the age of twenty-five, the date of the consecration would be in the year 552. A tradition or legend points out the circumstances under which he is said to have come to Glasgow. He had occasion to spend a night in the house or cell of a holy man named Fergus, who lived in a place called Kearnach (Carnock, Stirlingshire), and who had a vision or revelation that he should not die till he had seen the holy Kentigern. During that night Fergus expired. Kentigern placed the body



on a car, to which two bulls were yoked, and he commanded them to convey it to the spot ordained of the Lord. Followed by the Saint and a number of people they took the body to Glasgow, then called Cathures, where they drew up beneath certain ancient trees near a forsaken cemetery which had been hallowed by St. Ninian. Here the remains of Fergus were buried. So far the legend. We shall hear again of the good Fergus when we come to speak of Bishop Blackader. What the meaning of the word "Cathures" is we do not know; but the derivation of the name Glasgow is (from *glas*, a streamlet, and *dhu*, a hollow or ravine), "the hollow with the burn running through it", *i.e.*, the Molendinar Burn.

Kentigern took up his abode on the banks of the then beautiful rivulet, "*vocabulo Melindonor*", where he had buried Fergus. Beneath the shade of the venerable trees already named a little oratory and a very humble wooden cell were erected, and from this, as from the chief seat of his mission, St. Kentigern spread Christianity throughout the whole extent of what formed, four centuries later, the British kingdom of Cumbria, *i.e.*, the territory from Loch Lomond and Stirling on the north to Windermere and Appleby. Glasgow became the ecclesiastical capital of this extensive region, the spiritual mother of the Welsh tribes and "*fair Strathclyde*". On this spot St. Kentigern was buried after his labours of half a century, A.D. 603, and here for ages the kings and warriors, the saints and sages of Cumbria chose their rest beside the remains of the renowned apostle of their nation.

St. Kentigern's oratory or church was most probably constructed of wood, and his hospice of twigs or basket-work, thatched with reeds: the one a log-house, and the other a wigwam or a group of wattle-huts. History tells us that when St. Kentigern, who was also the founder of the see of St. Asaph, erected there a church, it was a wooden church, after the manner of the Britons,—"*quum de lapide nondum construere poterant, nec usum habebant.*" In any case these erections, the church and the hospice or huts, were the origin of the city of Glasgow.

No record remains to us of the immediate successors of Kentigern, and we have but little information on the history of the see previous to its restoration by David I.

About the year 720 the Britons of Strathclyde appear to have obtained from Ireland a Bishop named Sedulius. The convulsions of the tenth century saw the see in abeyance, and its possessions were seized by laymen.

The restoration of the see of Glasgow in the early years of the twelfth century was the work of the son of St. Margaret. As next in succession to the Scottish crown, David was Earl or Prince of Cumbria during the reign of his brother Alexander. Fortunately we have a most important document dating back to this period. It is the *Notitia* of David, or an investigation made by his order into the possessions of the see of Glasgow. A copy of this *Notitia* is preserved in the Chartulary of Glasgow. Its date is probably A.D. 1120 or 1121. It relates the foundation of the church, the consecration of Kentigern as Bishop of Cumbria, and his death. It states that he was succeeded by many bishops in the see, but that the confusions and revolutions in the country had at length destroyed all traces of the church, and almost of Christianity. A record follows of the possessions of the church "in all the provinces of Cumbria which are under his (David's) dominion and power." His object was to ascertain what were the properties which at the time belonged to the church, and to confirm the title by a legal charter.

When the bishopric was restored by David, John Achaius, who had been tutor, and afterwards Chancellor to the Prince, was elected and consecrated Bishop. He has been commonly called the first Bishop of Glasgow; but that should be understood to mean the first Bishop of the restored see. The year of his consecration was 1115.

His first care was to provide a church for his Cathedral. The ancient cemetery and its girdle of trees seem to have been nearly all that remained at Glasgow of St. Kentigern when Bishop John laid the foundation of his church. It was begun before the year 1124, and he consecrated it in the year 1136, in the presence of his royal pupil, who was now King of the Scots. Bishop John held the see for the space of thirty-two years, and went to his reward in the year 1147.

Bishop John was succeeded by Herbert, who held the

see for seventeen years. He introduced the Sarum Usage.

To the episcopate of Bishop Herbert we must assign the foundation of what became the great abbey of the diocese. Walter, High Steward of Scotland, founded in 1163, at Paisley, a monastery for Cluniac monks. Pope Honorius III (1198-1216) raised it to the dignity of an abbey, and Robert III presented it with a charter of regality. No part of the original building remains, for the beautiful First-Pointed work that replaced the earlier structure dates from the fourteenth century. The progenitor of the Stuarts endowed munificently the house he founded in the midst of his great fief of Strathgryfe, "for the souls of King Henry of England, of King David, and of King Malcolm."

Ingelram, his successor, was consecrated by Pope Alexander III in 1164, and held the see for ten years.

The fourth occupant of the revived see was Jocelin, who was called to the chair of St. Kentigern from the great Cistercian monastery of Melrose. This energetic prelate obtained in 1175, as soon as he was appointed to the see, from William the Lion, the grant of a burgh, which was confirmed by Pope Lucius in 1181; and King Alexander, by a charter in 1189, granted to the Bishop the right of a fair. This right was a valuable privilege from the fact of its attracting trade to the burgh. A subsequent royal charter, in 1210, confirmed "the king's peace" to those frequenting the fair. Glasgow thus became a bishop's burgh, the bishops being the feudal lords of the inhabitants.

Jocelin began at once to make preparations for a new cathedral, as the structure of Bishop John had been destroyed by fire some forty years after its consecration. Two expedients he devised in order to help forward the work. He caused to be compiled a biography of St. Kentigern, to whom the Cathedral was to be dedicated, and he established an association of collectors. The biography was the book so well known, *The Life and Miracles of St. Kentigern*, written or compiled by Brother Jocelin of Furness in Lancashire. In it he sets forth the dignity of the see of Glasgow, and omits nothing which could stimulate the generosity of the faithful. The collectors

were organised into a "Brotherhood of St. Kentigern." The King of Scots took the association under his patronage by a charter of protection and patronage full of affection for the ancient see, "which, though poor and lowly in temporal estate, is the spiritual mother of many nations", *i.e.*, of "Normans and Saxons, Scots, Galwegians, and Welsh", who then peopled Cumbria.

Bishop Jocelin laid the foundation of his Cathedral in 1181. He began at the east end, and sixteen years later this building was consecrated, in 1197, on the octave day of SS. Peter and Paul. It has been the custom to associate the present crypt under the choir with the name of Jocelin. We cannot enter into that question beyond saying that the First-Pointed style of the crypt is evidently of a later date than the time of Jocelin. To call it by his name is a mistake.

To this period, and to the action taken by the Bishop of Glasgow, must be assigned the final settlement of the independence of the Scottish sees. When Bishop John was nominated, York claimed supremacy over the see. The claim was resisted, but Pope Paschal II enjoined on him obedience to the Metropolitan of York. Calixtus II, his successor, renewed this ordering, and John went to Rome to plead his cause. The claims and counter-claims continued to be matters of dispute for half a century, and were not finally settled till the year 1188, when by a Bull of Clement III the Scottish sees were declared dependent upon no one save immediately upon the Apostolic See. To Archbishop Roger, who asserted that the see of Glasgow had acknowledged the jurisdiction of York, Jocelin answered that his see was the "*special daughter of the Roman Church*", and exempt from all other jurisdiction. The title of the Church of Glasgow as the "*special daughter of the Roman Church*" is formally recognised in a rescript from Pope Alexander III to Bishop Jocelin, dated 19th April 1178.

Jocelin increased the number of canons in his chapter, an arrangement approved of by Urban III, in the year 1186. He died in 1199, in his Monastery of Melrose. William of Malvoisin (*de Malovicino*), a learned Frenchman, succeeded to the see in 1200. After the space of two years he was translated to St. Andrews. This ener-



getic Norman was Bishop for nearly forty years, and his charters, yet extant, show his zeal and labours at St. Andrews.

Walter was the successor of Malvoisin, and was Bishop of Glasgow for twenty-four years. He and Bishop Malvoisin attended the fourth Lateran Council, convoked by Innocent III in 1215. During his episcopate, *i.e.*, in 1225, the clergy of Scotland met in Provincial Council for the first time without the presence of a Papal Legate. The representations made to the holy see by the Scottish episcopate led to a Bull being issued by Honorius III, granting to the bishops, in consideration of their having no local metropolitan, power to hold a provincial council. This document is dated 19th May A.D. 1225. The council was summoned by one elected by the prelates, and to whom was entrusted a *quasi* metropolitan authority, and who was called the "Conservator". This system lasted until the latter half of the fifteenth century, *i.e.*, till the year 1472. An abstract of the canons enacted by these provincial councils is given in Bellesheim, vol. i, pp. 345, etc.

Walter was succeeded, in 1233, by William de Bondington, Chancellor of the kingdom. He was consecrated at Glasgow. To him we must assign the commencement of the erection of the present Cathedral, and he completed the crypt and the choir. Though the crypt has been commonly called "Jocelin's Crypt", it was built after his time. Any one examining it, and comparing it with other buildings of the same style, will be forced to come to the conclusion that it is the work of Bondington's episcopate (1233-58). One of his first acts was to pay off some of the debt by which the Chapter was hampered. In 1240 he discharged a sum of 1,400 merks due to merchants in Florence. The widowed Countess of Lennox gave him, about this date, a piece of land on the banks of the Leven to help forward the fabric.

To further promote the building of Glasgow Cathedral, nine years after the election of Bondington a resolution or order was passed by a provincial council held at Perth in 1242, ordaining that the Indulgence for the Cathedral be hung up in every church in the realm; that its terms be plainly expounded in the vulgar tongue to the parish-

ioners; that on every Sunday and holiday from Ash Wednesday to Low Sunday, after the Gospel is read, the duty of contributing to the work be enjoined on the people; that their alms and legacies, together with the goods of persons dying intestate, be faithfully collected; and that during the season so specified offerings were not to be solicited in the parish churches for any other object. This arrangement for a national collection would seem to point out that the new Cathedral had been now commenced; and to the fruits of this collection we owe the completion of the crypt and choir before the year 1258.

About the year 1246 he founded the Blackfriars' Monastery. Three years before his death he consecrated, in 1255, Gameline, who had been elected Bishop of St. Andrews. Before his death, with the consent of his Chapter, he ordained that the Liturgy of the Church of Sarum should in all time coming be observed in the Church of Glasgow. He died on the 10th of November 1258, and was buried on the 13th, in the Abbey Church of Melrose, near the high altar.

In the year following his death the new statutes were adopted by the Cathedral Chapter. Under Bishop Herbert, more than a century previously, the Chapter had been formed on that of Salisbury; but now the Chapter of Glasgow applied to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury for a fuller explanation of their constitution and customs as established by Bishop Osmund, and these were adopted by the capitular body.

After Bondington, John Cheyam succeeded to the see, which he held from 1260 to his death in 1268. He died in France, and was buried there.

Robert Wishart or Wiseheart was next appointed to the see of St. Kentigern. He was of the old family of Wisehearts of Pittarow in Kincardineshire. In the interval between Bishop Cheyam and Bishop Robert Wishart, Nicholas Moffat, one of the canons, had been elected by the Chapter in 1268, but was not consecrated; and William Wishart was chosen as Bishop in 1270. He was translated to St. Andrews in 1274. Robert Wishart was nephew of this William Wishart, and was consecrated in January 1272 at Aberdeen. The central tower of the Cathedral was probably built by him, and also what may

be called the clerestory transepts. He proposed to add to the tower a wooden spire. For this object the Chapter, in 1277, obtained by purchase from Maurice, lord of Luss, the privilege of cutting all the timber needed "for the fabric of their steeple and treasury". Maurice's lands, from which the timber was to be taken, were along the western shore of Loch Lomond. The Bishop's steward and workpeople were to have the right of felling, hewing, and dressing timber wherever they chose, and should lead or carry it in whatever way they thought best. The steeple, however, did not get completed, for fourteen years later (*i.e.*, in 1291) we find that the Bishop begged "timber for the spire of his Cathedral" from Edward I, then in power in Scotland. The King gave him sixty oaks from Ettrick; but these oaks were used for a different purpose.

The flourishing condition of Church and State in Scotland at this period may be gathered from Fordun, where, speaking of the death of Alexander III on the 16th of March 1286, he says: "All the days of the life of this King the Church of Christ flourished, her priests were duly honoured, vice was withered up, wrong came to an end, and righteousness reigned." Before the close of the century the diocese of Glasgow furnished, in the person of its Chancellor, William Lamberton, a Bishop for the diocese of St. Andrews. This took place in November 1297.

Bishop Robert Wishart will always be a distinguished figure in Scottish history as a prelate who was a strong supporter of Scottish independence. He took the side of Wallace and Bruce, and his hands crowned Robert at Scone on the 27th of March 1305. Later he was taken prisoner, and detained as such in England until after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. He was Bishop of Glasgow for forty-four years, and died in 1316. He was buried in the crypt, between the altars of St. Peter and St. Andrew; and the monument in the centre of the east end of the crypt must be allowed to be the monument of Robert Wishart.

John Lindsay was appointed to the see in 1322. He was a younger brother of the Lindsays of the house of Crawford in Clydesdale, a canon of Glasgow, and Great



Chamberlain of Scotland in 1318. His episcopate was a time of troubles, in consequence of war with England. He sought refuge in France for a time, and in the spring of 1335 he embarked to return to his diocese. The ship was attacked by the English, and the Bishop received a mortal wound. He died on the 9th of April 1335, and was interred in his Cathedral, near the Altar of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>1</sup>

The next possessor of the see was William Rae, who was consecrated in 1339. He was a great benefactor to the town, for he built in 1345 a bridge over the Clyde, where now the Stockwell Bridge spans the river. It was he who procured from Rome a dispensation by which Robert II, the founder of the royal house of Stuart, was enabled to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Mure, though related by affinity and consanguinity. In return for this favour Robert founded a chaplaincy in the

<sup>1</sup> Here we may appropriately add a few words about the seals or arms of the Bishops of Glasgow, because an old deed of this date, *i.e.*, 1325, has a seal attached to it. This seal was the first seal of the Corporation, and a plate of it is given in *Old Glasgow*, p. 96. Unlike the English sees, neither the see of Glasgow nor any other of the sees in Scotland ever had any diocesan arms. None of the sees had even a permanent seal. Where arms are found they are invariably the personal arms of the Bishop. Sometimes heraldic bearings are met with on these seals, but such are always the family arms of the diocesan. Although Glasgow had no heraldic bearings, either ecclesiastical or civil, it had a common seal which the Bishop, acting through the magistrates, who were appointed by him, caused to be appended to public documents. The designs on the seals of the community were adopted from the seals of the Bishops. On the earliest examples of the seals of the Bishops, such as those of 1200, of Walter in 1208, and of Bondington in 1233, there is nothing but the figure of St. Kentigern in the act of benediction. Bishop Robert Wishart's counter-seal, made about 1271, and figured in *Old Glasgow*, p. 25, and in *Glasghu Facies*, p. 36, is a much more elaborate seal, and represents the story of St. Kentigern as given in the Aberdeen Breviary. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the ecclesiastical seal was modified, and the bell, the fish, the bird, and the tree-branch were added to the head of St. Kentigern. This is the seal of 1325, which has on the dexter side of the Bishop's head the oak-twig with the bird on it; and on the sinister side the fish and ring, perpendicular, and the bell. The same seal continued in use till the Reformation. The seal of the Chapter of Glasgow "for causes", and which was in use from 1488-1540, is given in a plate in *Old Glasgow*, p. 19. Here the fish is on the dexter side, and the bird with the bell on the sinister side, and the twig is spread over the seal, with the legend round it, "S. Capituli Glasguæ ad Causas."



Cathedral of Glasgow. After ruling the see for twenty-eight years Bishop Rae died on the 27th of January 1367.

Walter Wardlaw succeeded. He belonged to the family of the Wardlaws of Torry, Fifeshire. He was a prelate of great distinction. By King Robert he was sent to France to renew the ancient league between the crowns, which negotiation he carried through in such an able manner that at the instance of Charles V he was by Pope Clement VII created a Cardinal in 1384. This dignity he enjoyed only two years, and died in 1387.

A canon of the Cathedral, Matthew of Glendoning or Glendinning, was chosen to succeed the Cardinal-Bishop. During his episcopate of nineteen years (1389-1408) two events are worth recording. In the year 1400 the wooden spire, for which timber was procured from Luss, was struck by lightning and totally destroyed; and in 1401 the Precentor of Glasgow, Henry Wardlaw, was appointed to fill the see of St. Andrews. With the intention of erecting a stone steeple on the tower of the Cathedral, Bishop Glendoning collected some material, but was prevented from carrying out his wish by his death on the 10th of May 1408.

William Lauder succeeded Bishop Matthew. He began the work of the stone spire. His arms, a griffin salient, are cut in stone on the lower part of the steeple. The year before his death he was appointed to negotiate with the Court of England for the liberation of King James I, who had been a prisoner for eighteen years. After an episcopate of seventeen years he died on the 14th of June 1425.

John Cameron was next appointed to the see of St. Kentigern. He was a scion of the family of Cameron of Lochiel, was secretary to the Earl of Douglas, who presented him to the rectory of Cambuslang, and was by King James I, in 1424, made Provost of Lincluden and Secretary of State. His consecration took place at the end of 1426. He continued, and probably completed, the spire; also he may be credited with the building of the chapter-house, on the level of the crypt, and the vestry above it. In the year 1431 he went, as one of the two episcopal representatives of Scotland, to the General Council of Basle.

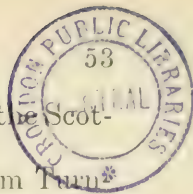
With the view of adding to the dignity and completeness of the services of the Cathedral he added, in 1420, six canons to the capitular body, making them thirty-one in number; and with the consent of the patrons made the parishes of Cambuslang, Tarbolton, Eaglesham, Kirkmahoe, Luss, and Killearn, into prebends; and he arranged that the canons should build their manses near the Cathedral, so that, though rectors of various parishes, they should have each a residence in the city. This was about 1440.<sup>1</sup>

The diocese had also two Archdeacons, Glasgow and Teviotdale; and nine rural deaneries,—Lanark, Rutherglen, Lennox, Kyle and Cunningham, Carrick, Peebles, Teviotdale, Nithsdale, and Annandale.

Bishop Cameron's arms, as Bishop of the see, are to be seen upon the central pillar of the vestry; and on the western wall, outside, above those of Bishop Lauder. See drawing in *Glasghu Facies*, p. 63.

With the sanction of the King he established a fair, to be held yearly in January, which was known as St. Mungo's Fair; and he arranged the Commissariat Court, to be held thrice a week in the Consistorial House at the south-west end of the Cathedral. He died on Christmas

<sup>1</sup> The constitution of the Chapter may be fitly described here. The close of David's reign (1153) saw the completion of the diocesan reorganisation and the erection of cathedral chapters, who were to elect the bishops. Glasgow Chapter consisted of thirty-one secular canons; of these, nine were officials of the Chapter. The first dignitary was the Dean, next to whom came the Archdeacon, the Sub-Dean, the Chancellor, the Precentor, the Treasurer, the Sacristan, the Bishop's Vicar, and the Sub-Precentor. The Dean was the rector or prebend of Cadzow, the Sub-Dean was the rector of Monkland, the Chancellor was rector of Campsie. His office was to keep the seal of the Chapter, and with it seal all the acts and deeds of the Bishop and his Council. The Archdeacon was rector of Peebles, the Precentor was rector of Kilbride, the Treasurer was rector of Carnwath, the Sacristan was rector of Cambuslang, the Sub-Precentor was rector of Ancrum, and the Bishop's Vicar was parson of Glasgow, or "Glasgow Imo", and had the parish of the Barony of Glasgow. In addition to these nine, the other Canons were,—10, Canon of Cardross; 11, of Balernoock or Provau; 12, of Carduis; 13, of Erskine; 14, of Renfrew; 15, of Eaglesham; 16, of Govan; 17, of Kirkmahoe; 18, of Tarbolton; 19, of Killearn; 20, of Douglas; 21, of Eddleston; 22, of Stobo; 23, of Morebattle; 24, of Luss; 25, of Ayr; 26, of Roxburgh; 27, of Durisdeer; 28, of Ashkirk; 29, of Sanquhar; 30, of Cumnock; and 31, of Polmadie.



Eve 1446. He was the most distinguished of all the Scottish Bishops of his time.

The successor to Bishop Cameron was William Turnbull, who was translated from Dunkeld to Glasgow. He was of the family of Turnbulls of Minto in Roxburghshire, was a Canon of Glasgow and lord of Provan in 1440, and was promoted to the see of Glasgow in 1447, and consecrated in 1448.

As soon as appointed he resolved to found a University in his episcopal city. Pope Nicholas cordially approved of the work, and the University was formally erected by a Papal Bull dated the 26th of December 1450. Provision was made for the study of theology, civil and canon law, arts, and other faculties. The office of Chancellor was to be held by the Bishop of Glasgow and his successors. The same privileges were conferred upon the professors and students as were enjoyed by the Papal University of Bologna. King James II in 1453 granted a charter of protection to the University; in the same year the Bishop and Chapter of Glasgow granted to all members of the University other privileges and exemptions.

Some seven months before the foundation of the University a charter of James II, of 20th April 1450, granted in favour of Bishop Turnbull, raised the city from the rank of a burgh of barony to that of a burgh of regality, confirming to the Bishop and his successors "the city of Glasgow, barony of Glasgow, and lands commonly called 'Bishop's Forest', to be held by them of us in free, pure, and mere regality in fee and heritage for ever."

This regal barony held of the Crown for the simple *reddendo* of a red rose, was from this date possessed free from all feudal service; and the Bishops, as in the case of the Bishops of Durham, who as Earls Palatine enjoyed a similar privilege, had "barons" under them. Such was the episcopal barony of Cadder, which was held in free barony of the Bishops of Glasgow by service of ward and relief, and giving suit at the head courts of the see. Such a tenure was very rare in Scotland, the only other instances known being the baronies of Kilconquhar, of Athcote in Lanarkshire, and of Edmondstone.

After an episcopate of seven years, Bishop Turnbull died in 1454, and was succeeded by Andrew Muirhead.



Amongst other good works done by him must be named that he founded the Hospital of St. Nicholas about the year 1460. It was for twelve indigent old men and a chaplain. In addition to the original endowment, Martin, Chancellor of the Cathedral, left to it, in 1501, some small ground-rents. The revenues are still, after the lapse of four hundred years, administered by the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow. The chapel had over the door the arms of Bishop Muirhead, three acorns on a bend, surmounted by the salmon, and a crozier behind the shield. It was pulled down in 1808. Also he erected, to the north of the Cathedral, a building for the vicars choral; and the road between the west end of the Cathedral and the Infirmary is still called "Vicar's Alley".

No allusion has yet been made to the nave of the Cathedral, and the massive and imposing square tower which, till some forty years ago, stood at the north-west end. The dates of these have not been handed down to us, but the tower was evidently very old. It was 120 ft. high, and had been the bell-tower. Opposite it, at the south-west of the nave, there was also another erection, evidently meant to be a tower, but which was only carried up to about two-thirds of the height of the other, and was finished with gables and corbie-steps. It was called in ancient records the Library House of the Cathedral, and was the place where the Bishops held their ecclesiastical courts, and where the records of the diocese were preserved. These western towers were sacrificed to the want of taste and of reverence for ancient work on the part of the Magistrates of the city and Her Majesty's Commissioner of Works in the year 1845.

A list of the books belonging to the Cathedral has been preserved, and is printed by the Maitland Club; also a list of the vestments and ornaments, made by order of the Bishop and Chapter in 1432, remains to us, showing that these were of more than usual richness and magnificence. An inventory of the relics has also been preserved and published.

Bishop Muirhead was deputed, together with the King's Almoner and Confessor, and several Scottish noblemen and clerical dignitaries, to arrange the terms of the



marriage-settlement of Margaret, daughter of the King of Denmark, with James III. The Islands of Orkney and Shetland were mortgaged to James in security of his Queen's dowry of 60,000 crowns; and in this way they came into the possession of the Scottish crown.

Eighteen years was the duration of the episcopate of Bishop Muirhead, to whom John Laing succeeded in 1473. In his time the dwelling-house of the Friars Minor (who were brought to Glasgow by Bishop Turnbull in 1449, and were mainly supported by Thomas Forsyth, a canon, and afterwards Rector of the University) was in the year 1476 replaced by a regular Friary.

Such was the renown of the see of Glasgow, "the mother of many races", as William the Lion had styled her three centuries before, and which had claimed from time immemorial the honourable title of "Daughter of the Roman Church", that King James IV deemed it an honour to be numbered among her canons. He held the appointment of Canon of Barlanark and Lord of Provan.

About this time Glasgow gave to Aberdeen a Bishop who was a most distinguished man, and whose memory is still in benediction. William Elphinstone was Glasgow born; at the age of twenty-six appointed to the parish of Kirkmichael, chosen in 1474 Rector of Glasgow University, and made in 1483 Bishop of Aberdeen.

A space of ten years brought to a close the episcopate of Bishop Laing, who died on the 11th of January 1483. He was succeeded by Robert Blackader, a member of the family of Blackader of Berwickshire. The Parliament, probably on account of a wish on the part of the royal Canon, made a move in favour of Glasgow being raised to the dignity of an archiepiscopal see. St. Andrews had been made an archbishopric some seventeen years before. A resolution was passed by it on the 14th of January 1489, which set forth that the honour and welfare of the realm demanded the erection of Glasgow into an archbishopric with the same privileges as those enjoyed by York. The Pope was informed of this by the Chancellor. King James V urged upon the Pope the desired erection. In the year 1490 he wrote to the Pope saying that "Glasgow surpassed all the other cathedral churches in his realm by its structure, its learned men,

its foundations, its ornaments, and other very noble prerogatives." Innocent granted the request, and by a Bull dated 9th of January 1492 raised Glasgow to an archbishopric, with Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway and Argyle for its suffragans. In this way the prelate, made Bishop of Glasgow in 1484, eight years later became Archbishop Robert Blackader. The King was less successful in his endeavour to get for the new Archbishop the dignity of Cardinal.<sup>1</sup>

The Archbishop died in 1508, when making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His arms, three roses on a chevron, are carved on the south side of the altar, to the right of the rood-screen door, and on the north end of the corresponding one on the left hand.

In the *Protocol Register* is a document, dated 10th of May 1503, showing that the Archbishop paid the sum of 1,360 merks for the lands of Cragrossie, which were mortified by him shortly after for the support of a chaplain in the church built by him near Culross in honour of St. Kentigern, and also for some other foundations in his Cathedral. Also he signified to the Chapter, in June 1506, his willingness to annex the vicarages of Cadder, Stobo, Lintoun, Kilbirnie, and the rectory of Garvald, to his College of the University of Glasgow, "for the utility of the clergy, and for the improving of the varied and superior learning of the learned men therein". In a synod held in the Cathedral on the 21st of April 1506, the Archbishop published a decree that the beneficed clergy of the diocese should reside in their own benefices or in the city of Glasgow, within the College thereof, for the sake of study, under a penalty of £5, to be applied to the fabric of the Church of Glasgow, if they did not obey the statute within three months, £10 if they did

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Blackader is popularly known by the work at the Cathedral associated with his name. He constructed the stairs which lead to the great crypt, and built the rood-loft. Also he resolved to add a south transept; but he completed only the under-croft, or south crypt, commonly called "Blackader's Aisle", and sometimes "Fergus' Aisle". This was the last piece of work attempted before the Reformation. An agreement, dated the 14th of May 1507, between the Archbishop and Thomas Tayt of Ayr, is recorded, by which the burgess contracts to sell to the Prelate twelve fothers of lead at the price of eighteen pounds Scots for each fother. It was probably destined for the south transept.

not obey within three months more, and deprivation of their benefices if they did not obey within six months thereafter.

James Beaton was the next Archbishop of Glasgow. He was the son of John Betoun of Balfour, who married first Margery Boswell of Balmuto, and secondly Elizabeth Melville of Raith. There were six sons and five daughters in his family. All these brothers died young, except the Archbishop, who lived to the great age of eighty-six. His consecration took place at Stirling on the 15th of April 1509. He also held the office of Chancellor of the Kingdom. Copies of instruments exist, dated the 8th and 19th of April 1509, whereby the Dean and Chapter, and Martin Reade, Rector of the University, in behalf of that body and the clergy of the diocese; Archibald Watson and Thomas Hutchinson, Bailies of Glasgow, in the name of the citizens, severally acknowledge the new Archbishop as "*pastor animarum suarum*". On the 17th of April the Archbishop took the oath in the usual form, in presence of Robert Forman, Dean, and the Chapter of Glasgow assembled in the Chapter House, by touching his breast, and swearing on the word of an Archbishop and on the Holy Gospels.

The Archbishop crowned James V in the Castle of Stirling on the 21st of September 1513. After presiding over the see for the space of twelve years, Archbishop Beaton was translated to St. Andrews on the death of Archbishop Forman in 1521.

Gavin Dunbar, Prior of Whithorn, and former tutor to James V, was now appointed to the see of Glasgow. He was consecrated on the 5th of February 1524-5. He was a younger brother of Sir John Dunbar of Mochram, and brother to the Dunbar of Baldoon who was Provost of Glasgow in 1547, and had received his education in the Glasgow University. Through the representations of the King, the Pope, by a document of the 30th of November 1530, annulled the office of Legate that had been enjoyed by the Primate; and on the 21st of September, the following year, Glasgow was exempted from any jurisdiction on the part of the Primate.

Archbishop Dunbar must be looked on as the originator of the College of Justice, inasmuch as James insti-



tuted it by his advice. A difference arose between the King and the clergy in connection with this College. The King wished to impose a tax of £10,000 a year on ecclesiastical benefices for the support of the new institution ; but the Bishops would not sanction more than £1,400 a year. In either case the approval of a provincial council was required, and the council met in Edinburgh on Ash Wednesday, 1536. The Synod agreed to an annual tax on the clergy for the support of the new College of Justice. The College was to consist of fourteen judges, half clerical and half lay. The president was always to be an ecclesiastic. It received the confirmation of Pope Clement VII in the year 1534. The first President was the Abbot of Cambuskenneth.

This date leads us to say a single word about David, Cardinal Beaton (1539-46) on account of his connection with Glasgow. He was the nephew of Archbishop James Beaton, and third son of John Beaton and Isabella Monypenny. Though a Fifeshire man he repaired, in his sixteenth year (A.D. 1510) to the University of Glasgow. His education was finished in France. The rectories of Campsie and Cambuslang were bestowed upon him ; and when his uncle was translated to St. Andrews, in 1523, he resigned to his nephew David the commendatory abbacy of Arbroath, which he had held since 1509.

Archbishop Dunbar was present at the celebrated trial, held at St. Andrews in 1540, of Sir John Borthwick.

In the year 1546, the year previous to the death of Dunbar, the collegiate church of Biggar, in Lanark, was founded. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and was endowed for a provost, eight canons, four choristers, and six poor bedesmen, and was one of the last religious foundations in Scotland previous to the Reformation.

Another work of Archbishop Dunbar was the building the gate-house at the Bishop's Castle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Castle is first mentioned in an old charter of 1290. A great tower was erected at the south end of the enclosure, and some other portions, by Bishop Cameron in 1430 ; and a smaller tower by Archbishop Beaton, who also surrounded the Castle by a protecting wall, some time before 1513. A ground-plan of the Castle is given in *Glasghu Facies*, p. 251 ; and two views of the Castle,—one on p. 73, showing Bishop Cameron's tower, and Archbishop Dunbar's gatehouse, p. 76 ; and another on p. 276, showing the west face of the Cameron tower,



Archbishop Dunbar died on the 30th of April 1547. He was acknowledged even by his enemies to be a prelate of learning and piety. The family seems to have been noted for goodness, zeal, and charity. An uncle of his was Bishop of Aberdeen from 1518-32, and was, perhaps, next to Bishop Elphinstone, the most illustrious occupant of that see.

At this critical period in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, the diocese of Glasgow was able to be of service to two other dioceses. Gavin Hamilton, a Glasgow ecclesiastic, was appointed coadjutor in 1551 to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was in weak health; and Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow and President of the Court of Session, became Bishop Panter's successor in the see of Ross.

The last possessor of the see of St. Kentigern was James Beaton, the second of the name. On the death of Archbishop Dunbar the Chapter of Glasgow elected Alexander Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly, in 1550. He was, however, never consecrated, and resigned the see a few months later. Beaton was at once appointed. He was only a layman at the time, and but twenty-seven years of age. He was consecrated at Rome on the 28th of August 1552. Five years after his promotion, he and another Bishop, and six other persons, were commissioned by the Estates of Scotland to go to

and the protecting wall that was 15 feet high. A stone that was originally part of this protecting wall is now built into the porch of St. Joseph's Church, North Woodside Road. It has the arms of Beaton quartered with Balfour, *i.e.*, quarterly, 1st and 4th, *azure*, a fess between three mascles *or*, for Beaton; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, on a chevron *sable* an otter's head erased of the first, for Balfour. Above the shield is the Archbishop's cross, and below, the fish with the ring in its mouth. An engraving of this stone is given in *Old Glasgow*, p. 109. Over the handsome gatehouse and arched gateway of Archbishop Dunbar was a series of armorial bearings, also engraved on p. 110. On the upper of the two carved stones are the arms of Scotland with the supporting unicorns. On the lower stone are two shields. On the one are carved the arms of Dunbar,—*or*, three cushions within a double tressure-flory and counter-flory *gules*, with a mullet for difference; and below the shield, the fish with the ring; and on the lower shield are the arms of James Houston, Sub-Dean of Glasgow,—*or*, a chevron chequé *sable* and *argent* between three martlets of the second, with a rose in chief for difference. These stones have been lately given to Sir William Dunbar to be built into his new mansion in Wigtownshire.

France as witnesses of the espousals of Queen Mary with the Dauphin. The Archbishop was also present at the solemnisation of the marriage on the 24th of April 1558, in the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame.

In August 1549 the celebrated Convention of Clergy had been held at Linlithgow. In the November following a provincial council was held in Edinburgh, and the Vicar-General of Glasgow attended it, as the see was then vacant. The statutes passed may be read in *Bellesheim*, vol. ii, pp. 202-11. Another provincial council took place in 1559, which lasted from the 1st of March to the 10th of April. The Archbishop of Glasgow took part in it, and with it ended the last council of the old Scottish Church.

To make this paper on the ancient see complete we must add a few words on the value or income of the see. The free rent of the archbishopric of Glasgow, as it was given at the General Assumption, 1561, was :—in money, £987 : 8 : 7; meal, 32 ch., 8 bolls; malt, 28 ch., 6 bolls; barley, 8 bolls; horse-corn, 12 ch., 13 bolls, 3 fir.; salmon, 14 doz.

The entire possessions of the see at the Reformation were the seven baronies and regalities of Glasgow, Carstairs, Stobo, Eddilstoun, Ancrum, Ashkirk, and Lilliesleaf, with the Bishop's Forest, and other little things of comparatively trifling value in Carrick, Lothian, and elsewhere. The gross money-rental of £987 : 8 : 7 may be relatively apportioned as follows :—Barony of Glasgow, £650; Barony of Carstairs, £150 (?); Barony of Stobo rental is known to have been £107; Barony of Eddilstoun, £23 : 18 : 4,—equal to £930 : 18 : 4; whilst the Border baronies at that unsettled time would, perhaps, only represent the balance. This sum, it must be remembered, was £987 : 8 : 7 Scots, which according to the value of money at that time was equal to about only £200.

When we even allow for the difference in the value of money three hundred years ago, and put a price on the grain paid to the prelate as rent, as well as on the fourteen dozen of salmon, the Glasgow rental was a moderate one, and fell far short of the revenues of the great English sees.

It is no part of our slight sketch of the history of the

ancient see of Glasgow to travel beyond the year 1560, or to go into those causes that led to the national change of religion; but we may say that fewer dioceses in Christendom have had a more glorious or edifying existence of fully one thousand years than Glasgow's ancient see. It began with Kentigern, and ends with Archbishop Beaton *Secundo*, who in 1560 retired to France. He was appointed ambassador for his sovereign at the court of France, was restored to a portion of the temporalities of his see in 1600, and died, at the age of eighty-six, on the 25th of April 1603.

The names of Kentigern, Jocelin, Bondington, Wishart, Cameron, Turnbull, Blackader, Dunbar, and James Beaton, will always be household words in the west of Scotland. Of each of these may we say, "Many shall praise his wisdom, and it shall never be forgotten. The memory of him shall not depart away, and his name shall be in request from generation to generation."<sup>1</sup> Of Archbishop Dunbar we have the unimpeachable testimony of George Buchanan that he was a model prelate,—

"Splendida cœna epulæ lautæ, ambitione remota .....  
Doctrina, ingenio, simplicitate, fide.  
Ipse alios supra facundo prominet ore."

The comments of those who cannot be suspected of bias will amply bear out the statement. Mr. MacGeorge writes: "The people of Glasgow appear to have been fortunate in their ecclesiastical rulers, and their condition was greatly superior to that of the communities who were under the sway of lay barons. From the time of David the city was ruled by bishops till 1491, when Robert Blackader, who then filled the see, was, at the instance of James IV (who, like James II, was a canon of the Cathedral), promoted to the dignity of Archbishop with metropolitan, primatial, and legislative dignity; and until the Reformation the Archbishops were the lords temporal as well as spiritual of the community."<sup>2</sup>

By the lovers of art and of archæology the memory must always be held in especial veneration of the men who built our Cathedral,—a noble work of architecture, with its magnificent crypt, unsurpassed and unrivalled.

<sup>1</sup> Ecclus. xxxix, 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Glasgow*, p. 53.

A little longer than Elgin, it is the second in size of all the old Scottish cathedrals. And the mercantile community of the second city—a city whose prosperity can be traced to its coal and iron—will not need to be reminded that the foundation of this development was laid by the Church. We quote from Lawson :—" We are not to view the ecclesiastics of the Scottish hierarchy merely as the founders of cathedrals, colleges, and religious institutions. It cannot be denied that they rendered essential services by their continued improvement of the kingdom in agriculture, in the erection of bridges, hospitals for the aged and infirm, many of which still remain; and that they were in many cases the promoters of the comforts and luxuries of domestic life. They were the discoverers of that invaluable mineral, coal,—a constant and never-failing source of internal wealth; they were long the only ship-owners of the kingdom; and some of the most useful inventions issued from the monastic cloister."<sup>1</sup>

It is only their due to say of those who have sat in the chair of St. Kentigern, "These are the mighty men of old, men of renown."<sup>2</sup> "Let us now praise men of renown, and our fathers in their generation ..... Rich men in virtue, studying beautifulness ..... All these have gained glory in their generations, and were praised in their days ..... They were men of mercy, whose godly deeds have not failed ..... Their bodies are buried in peace, and their name liveth unto generation and generation."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. vi, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Eccclus. xlv, 1, 6, 10, 14.





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A man had received an illustration of a man and a woman writing together with 126 as a price. But the price was late the time. The dre of the of the story to make a line. And the story

ON A  
THIRTEENTH CENTURY SCOTTISH CHARTER  
RELATING TO FALKIRK.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

AMONG the facsimiles of early Scottish charters which I had the honour of exhibiting to the members during the recent Congress at Glasgow, the document which is here illustrated, full size, by autotype photography, was received with much attention and interest. Historically and palæographically there are many points in it worthy of notice. The elegantly formed characters of the handwriting cannot fail to strike us with admiration: indeed, there are few documents of the class which can compete with it for beauty and elegance; and as the date of A.D. 1266 is contained in its text, it acquires additional value as a test for many other documents which though written about the same time contain no date. The text has been printed in the *Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, for the Bannatyne Club (1840); but the Editor of that work printed the charter from a faulty copy, and did not collate it with the original among the Harley Charters of the British Museum, which is here published for the first time in a correct form.

The document is a grant by Richard Bishop of St. Andrews to the canons of Holyrood Abbey, of the church of Eggesbrec (which is called *varia capella*), for the souls of Kings David and Malcolm, his ancestors Robert and Ærnald, and his uncle Alwine, for a rent of one *petra*, or stone (about twelve and a half pounds) of wax, yearly towards the Bishop's Chapel. Among the witnesses are many notable personages,—Geoffrey, Abbot of Dunfermline; John, Abbot of Kelso; Osbert, Abbot of Jedburgh; Andrew the Archdeacon, and others.

The church of Eggesbrec, *i.e.*, “Eglais blrec” (spotted church), was so called on account of the varied shades of stone used in its building. In after times the name be-

came Fawkirk or Falkirk, which it now retains. Our President has referred to this name in the Inaugural Address printed at pp. 1-21. For the convenience of readers I append a transcript of the text, with footnotes showing the faulty readings of the *Liber Cartarum* :

“Ricardus Dei gratia Ecclesie Sancti André<sup>e</sup> humilis minister. Vniversis sancte matris ecclesie filijs totius diocesis sue salutem. Sciant tam posterius quam presentes nos in plenario capitulo nostro . consilio<sup>1</sup> et assensu cleri nostri dedisse . et presentis scripti munimine confirmasse ecclesie sancte crucis et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus. Ecclesiam de egglesbrec<sup>2</sup>. que uaria capella dicitur . et totam terram quam nos ibi habuimus . uel aliquis antecessorum nostrorum . cum omnibus ecclesie<sup>3</sup> et terre prenominate uille pertinentibus : pro animabus regum . David . Malcolm . et antecessorum nostrorum . Rodberti . Ernaldi<sup>4</sup>. et auunculi nostri Alwini<sup>5</sup>. et cunctorum fidelium . in perpetuam elemosinam singulis annis reddendo de terra supradicta unam petram cere capelle nostre et successorum nostrorum ad pentecosten . Quare uolumus et precipimus ut predictam ecclesiam cum terra prenominata liberam et quietam ab omni exactione habeant et possideant . saluis episcopalis de ecclesia . et redditu prenominato de terra. Hiis testibus . Galfrido abbate de dunfermelin<sup>6</sup>. Johanne Abbate de Calcho . Osberto abbate de Jedewrde<sup>7</sup>. Andrea archidiacono . Magistro Osberto de Merlei<sup>8</sup>. Waltero priore de calcho . Aiulfo decano . Rodberto<sup>9</sup> fratre episcopi . Johanne nepote Rodberti<sup>10</sup> episcopi . Rodberto<sup>9</sup> seulf<sup>11</sup> filio de pert . Magistro herberto<sup>12</sup>. Alexandro capellano . Magistro Abraham . Henrico capellano archidiaconi. Hec donatio facta est in plenario capitulo apud berewie celebrato . anno ab incarnatione domini Millesimo . centesimo . sexagesimo sexto.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> concilio

<sup>2</sup> Eiglesbrec

<sup>3</sup> ecclesie

<sup>4</sup> Arnoldi

<sup>5</sup> Aluini

<sup>6</sup> Dunfermelin

<sup>7</sup> Jedewarde

<sup>8</sup> Merty

<sup>9</sup> Roberto

<sup>10</sup> Roberti

<sup>11</sup> Sewlf

<sup>12</sup> Osberto

<sup>13</sup> Anno Incarnationis Domini MCCLXVI.



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## Proceedings of the Congress.

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MONDAY, 27TH AUGUST 1888.

THE forty-fifth Annual Congress was opened at Glasgow on this day by a reception by the Lord Provost in the Council Chambers, Ingram Street. There was a large attendance.

The Lord Provost said it afforded him great pleasure to welcome the British Archæological Association to Glasgow, and he was glad to think that so many had found it convenient to visit this city. He was afraid that the relics of antiquity were but few; but they had in the vicinity an ample field to furnish instruction to those who for the first time had visited this part of Scotland. Apart from that, they had in the scenery of the west of Scotland something which would refresh the eye after it had finished its antiquarian search. He was glad that the programme was so complete. It bore testimony to the exertions of those gentlemen who had been responsible for making it. It included a visit to prehistoric forts, to the Roman wall of Antonine, and to the Roman camp of Ardoch. It also included a visit to the antiquities of Bute, where they would have the opportunity of enjoying the hospitality of the President. It also included the two battlefields of Bannockburn and Langside, the palaces of Stirling and of Linlithgow, the castles of Bothwell and of Craignethan; and the members would find in the grounds of the Exhibition a collection of the most valuable treasures of an antiquarian character, many of which have never been shown before. He trusted that the weather would continue to favour them, and that at the close of the week they would find that they had no reason to regret the occasion of the first visit of the Association to Scotland.

Sheriff Berry said he had, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, on behalf of that Committee to give the members of the Association a most cordial welcome to the city. The Lord Provost had adverted to the programme of the visits which the members had before them during the week; and as His Lordship had said, they would have many opportunities of investigating places which could hardly be exceeded. But independently of that he could not but think that in Glasgow itself



there were materials for antiquarian inquiry and research. No doubt the present city did not externally bear many marks of antiquity. It had grown to be a great mart of trade and manufacture; but still in its early history, in various quarters, it had materials which could not fail to interest ladies and gentlemen with antiquarian tastes. It was well known that for a long period Glasgow was simply the burgh of the Bishop or Archbishop of Glasgow. That had been well illustrated in the work of Mr. Macgeorge. Then they were to have from Mr. Honeyman, a master of the subject, an explanation of the architecture of the Cathedral, which carried them back to the early history of this city. They were also to have a paper on the history of the see from the Archbishop of Glasgow, and that could not fail to throw a great light upon the early history of the city. He thought the Association had not made an unhappy choice in selecting Glasgow for their first visit across the Border, and he hoped the weather in this somewhat uncertain season would smile upon them during their stay.

Mr. John Honeyman, President of the Archæological Society of Glasgow, said he had to offer, on behalf of the Society he represented, a most cordial welcome to Glasgow. The Lord Provost and the learned Sheriff had spoken more exclusively on behalf of Glasgow, but his Society included a somewhat wider area. He was glad to think that so many members had volunteered to assist them on the present occasion to read papers on the various places of interest which were to be visited outside the boundaries of the city. He need hardly say that the visit of the Association to this part of the country had been matter of great interest to the members of the Glasgow Society. They were all sensible of what must be the feelings of archæologists, that one of the needs of the present time was a closer association of the various Societies. He was therefore happy to welcome them, and to see such a large representation at that very early period of their meetings.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, in the absence of the President, the Marquess of Bute, thanked the Lord Provost and the other gentlemen for the kindly reception they had given the Association. The more they looked into the history of the past, the more they saw that the past of Scottish history could not fail to be interesting. At the same time, it presented many phases, and they might be very grateful that they did not live in those ages when party feeling ran so high. They were in a position now to think what they liked, and to say what they thought, without being apprehended and placed inside the Tolbooth of Glasgow. For one thing he was sure they would be all grateful, and that was, that in this city of Glasgow, where there was so much to admire, the past had not been forgotten amidst its commerce and industry.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, then read the order of procedure for the day, when the party took carriages and drove to the Queen's Park. Walking through the Park, the members were met at Park Buildings by Mr. A. M. Scott, who pointed out the battle-field, the places where the troops were disposed, and the points from which Queen Mary and the Regent Murray witnessed the engagement. The large party walked over the fields to the so-called Celtic or pre-historic camp (little better now than grass-grown banks) in the immediate vicinity, to the north-west of the flag-staff, and examined traces of the old walls. There are many such camps in the neighbourhood. Camp-hill is also supposed to have been a Roman station; it was reasonable to suppose that the Romans, on crossing the river, would take advantage of the old defences. Mr. Scott exhibited a quantity of charred corn and oak found in the camp in 1867, about nine feet under the surface. Below, in the marshy ground near the entrance to Camp-hill House, he pointed out the reputed kirkyard of those who fell at the battle of Langside. Mr. Scott's remarks have been printed above at pp. 22-24.

The members afterwards walked down to the village of Langside, in order to witness the ceremony of handing over the custody of the Battle Memorial to the Hutcheson's Hospital Trustees. Besides the members of the Association there was a large gathering of local residents and of gentlemen from Glasgow who had interested themselves in the erection of the memorial. Refreshments were very kindly provided by the Trustees.

Later in the afternoon the members visited the Cathedral, where a paper descriptive of the architectural features was read by Mr. John Honeyman, F.R.I.B.A. The Rev. Dr. Burns presided. The paper has been printed in the *Journal* at pp. 25-32.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Honorary Secretary*, followed Mr. Honeyman, and drew attention to the serious cracks visible in the spandrels of the tower arches, which he finds running up through the modern facing to the roof, indicating the dangerous condition of the spire. He is anxious that the attention of the authorities, who are responsible for the safety of the church and its frequenters, should be drawn to the state of the supporting walls, an examination of which shows that there is still some motion in the building, probably in the direction of down the hill. The fall of the tower would mean grave injury, perhaps irreparable, to the crypt and adjacent parts. Mr. Brock rejected the application of the popular term lady-chapel by the previous speaker to what is really a retro-choir, and hardly capable of use as a lady-chapel on account of structural peculiarities. Mr. Honeyman accepted this distinction of terms.

In the evening the opening dinner took place.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 28TH.

The members to-day visited Bothwell Castle *vis à* Uddingstone. At the entrance to the policies of the Earl of Home, Mr. Easton, factor, guided the party about the castle. The walk through the beautiful grounds, and the different views of the Clyde and its wooded banks were enjoyed; but most interest was centred in the ruins of the great keep. Since June last workmen had laid bare the foundations of the northern part of the structure and disclosed the workmanship of the edifice. It is proposed that these foundations of the castle shall be exposed to view. Close to the foot of one of the walls lay the perfectly-formed skeleton of a full-grown man,<sup>1</sup> the bones being in their places, and apparently fresh. The walls of the castle have been stripped of ivy, and the structure has quite a different aspect from that which it has worn for generations. All the nooks, stairs, wells, and the banqueting-hall were carefully examined, and some found their way to the top of the south-eastern tower, while below, the foreman-mason on the estate pointed out the individual marks of the artisans who, centuries ago, cut the stones. Everything showed that the men who hewed, laid, and joined the stones knew well their trade.

The company met in the enceinte or court, when a paper of much merit, by Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Scot., one of the Local Secretaries of the Congress, to whom, with Mr. W. G. Black, F.S.A.Scot., the Association is indebted for the selection of sites to be visited, was read. It has been printed above, at pp. 33-41.

Mr. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, spoke on the architectural features of the building. Bothwell, he said, was one of the most ancient and interesting of the many castles of Scotland, and one that required study in a little detail, in order that the gradations which Scottish baronial architecture passed through from early to modern times might be comprehended. Taking in the new excavations, the castle formed originally an irregular parallelogram, with circular towers projecting at the angles, and with a square tower here and there. These towers were remarkable from their having projected beyond the line of the curtain wall, thereby giving a good many surfaces for attack, such as they did not find in later works. Where, it was

<sup>1</sup> The thigh-bone, from end to end, was 17 in.; the left hip-bone damaged, but as nearly as possible the width there was 11 in.; and of the shoulders, 13 in.; the knees pronouncedly "knocked"; and in life the man was tall, narrow chested, and knock-kneed. Apparently the body had been placed in a shell of some sort, or the bones would not have been so intact; and there was a space of about 1½ in. between the remains and the wall. It was, perhaps, one of the inmates buried during one of the investments of this castle. Head to the west.

asked, did this system of defence originate? We knew that the Norman castles were designed upon a totally different plan. The Edwardian castles in Wales were something like this, and yet we could scarcely imagine that they were so early in date, in their general number at any rate. They had, he thought, the explanation in this, that the military architecture of France was very similar to what they saw at Bothwell, and that the English and the Scotch alike followed the development of French military architecture. Those of them who were at Pembroke Castle, in Wales, would see at once the remarkable resemblance there was between the great donjon tower of Pembroke Castle and the great tower of Bothwell. The tower at Pembroke was erected in the time of Edward I; the tower of Bothwell Castle, they might fairly conclude, was of earlier date, and it was quite within the bounds of possibility that it was the work of the Olifants, who owned the property at the very commencement of the thirteenth century. The building was remarkable for the careful masonry, for the close joints, and the great precision with which the stones were fitted, indicating beyond doubt that the Scotch masons of that period were extremely good workmen. From the stones which had been found in the excavations it would be noticed that each mason had marked his stone with his own particular mark. The ravages of war were but too apparent on the walls before them. An examination of the huge tower showed that in one or other of the sieges to which the castle was subjected it must have been undermined, and that the outer half of it must have fallen. At a subsequent date the then owner of the castle, whom he took to be Douglas the Grim, made the tower secure by building a wall across the fallen part, thereby converting what had been a circular apartment into a half-circular one. In the banqueting-hall was a window which many of them would take to be a geometrical window of 1260, but which in reality was very late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century work. There was one in St. Mirren's Chapel, Paisley, of date 1420, very similar in form. Bothwell Castle being one of the oldest castles in Scotland, it was to be taken with consideration to that still older one which they would see at Rothesay. There were many points of resemblance between Bothwell and Rothesay, the chief difference between them being that at Rothesay the centre space was circular, while at Bothwell it was square or in the form of a parallelogram.

On the motion of Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., the thanks of the Society were conveyed to Mr. Easton, by whose kindness the members were permitted to see the ruin in favourable circumstances.

The company then drove to Bothwell, where they were conducted to the ancient collegiate church, attached to which the parish church



has been built. The ancient structure was inspected inside and out, and much interest was taken in the monuments within the church, which is now used as a burying-place. Three tombs attracted special attention—of William, second Duke of Douglas, and of the first Earl of Forfar, and the second and last Earl, who died of his wounds received at Sheriffmuir.

Mr. Loftus Brock said that in the history of Scottish architecture this was one of the collegiate churches found so frequently in Scotland about the middle of the fifteenth century or somewhat earlier. The history of monastic foundations passed through a series of gradations just as did those in England. First were the Benedictines, who followed the times of the early church. Then there were enclosed orders more or less, and, lastly, when they became unpopular in Scotland, as in England, it was difficult to find people to live in them. Thus the practice of founding colleges of secular priests became universal in Scotland as in England; in fact, there was scarcely an instance of the founding of one of the older monastic establishments, either in the one country or the other, after the middle of the thirteenth century. They had, therefore, before them a collegiate church, and they knew the period of its founding. The founders were the Douglasses, whose history they had heard in the paper of Mr. Duncan that day. They noticed the Murray stars within and outside the Douglas heart. He took the date of the building to be very close on the fourteenth or very early in the fifteenth century. He could not attribute a later date to it, because, if they were to get a very late date—at the end, say, of the sixteenth century, as had been said—they should not be able to account for the piscina, the sacristy, and other features. He thought they might study with the security of knowledge the building as of the date he had given. Having arrived at that point, let them consider two or three of the peculiarities which were found repeated in other buildings which they would visit. Notice the pointed stone roof which was the rule in Scotch castles. But here they had the advantage of seeing the external covering remaining, which had not been left in some castles. Outside was the roof of overlapping slab-stones, which had successfully resisted the storms since the foundation of the building. The tracery of the windows had disappeared, and he could not but regret that the windows on the north side had been filled in with English tracery of a later period. It was possible this church, like many other public buildings, was never completed. There were too many instances of a chancel being erected, and the work carried no further, and he took it that this was one of them. There seemed to be structural evidence of an intention to throw out transepts left and right, and that that had never been carried out. On the outside this building was as good an example of French influ-

ence as was to be found in any other, there being the wide mouldings, the semicircular arch, and peculiar carvings on the capitals. He ventured to think that those features were more like French work than what was found in some of the other churches in Scotland.

After lunch at the hotel, the party drove over to Hamilton, crossing Bothwell Brigg on the way, took train for Tillietudlem, and thence walked to Craignethan Castle. Its picturesque situation, on the top of an elevated and rocky promontory formed by a sharp curve of the river, the good state of preservation of the enclosing walls and towers, and the romantic glamour imparted to the ruins, not only arouse but maintain interest. A paper was to have been read here by Mr. Duncan, but time only allowed a short inspection of the ruins, and the party then walked along the path through the glen beside the stream of Nethan to carriages again for Lanark, reached only just in time for the return train back to Glasgow.

At the evening meeting, which was held in the Merchants' Hall, the Marquess of Bute presided. After thanking the Association for the compliment they had paid him in electing him President, and bidding the members welcome to this country, he read the Inaugural Address, which has been printed at pp. 1-21.

Sir James King, in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Bute for his address, remarked that it had been an admirable and instructive one; and he was sure it was the feeling of all that if in former times the Congress had ever been so fortunate as to have a more interesting address, it had been more fortunate than most Congresses. His Lordship had travelled over a very long period. He had shown himself almost as much at home in the Celtic and Roman periods as in that which they almost recognised as his especial loving study—the mediæval. He thought it would be the feeling of all that they ought rather to think over what they had heard than to have any discussion on the subjects which had been dealt with so eloquently. His Lordship's name was neither unknown nor unhonoured here. With several of their institutions he had shown a deep interest; he had added valuable contributions to the history of their country; he had taken an interest in their fine arts, and, as President for a time of the Art Institute, had endeavoured to add to the cultivation of that elegant branch of learning in the city; and they could not forget that the University owed its noblest hall to his munificence.

Sheriff-Principal Berry seconded the motion, and the vote of thanks was warmly accorded.

Lord Bute having briefly replied, the proceedings terminated.

*(To be continued.)*

## Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND JANUARY 1889.

B. WINSTONE, ESQ., M.D., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire," vol. xxii, Part III. Dec. 1888.

*To the Author*, for "Bulletin Historique" of the Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, New Series, 147th Part ; and "Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin," par M. l'Abbé Haigneré, tome ii.

„ „ for "Some Prehistoric Burial-Places in Southern India." By Alex. Rea, Esq.

„ „ for "Lux Benigna," being the History of Orange Street Chapel, London. By Richard W. Free, M.A.

The proposal to save from destruction the mound or rampart called "Graham's Dyke", to the north of the Roman wall at Rough Castle, was announced.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a report by Mr. J. T. Irvine on "Discoveries of Remains at Peterborough Abbey," which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Birch also read notes from Mr. Irvine, accompanying drawings of monumental stones discovered during the rebuilding of the western tower of the church of Helpstone, co. Northt. ; sketches of remains recently discovered at Castor Church, near Peterborough ; and a letter from Rev. Dr. G. F. Browne of Cambridge, suggesting readings for the mutilated Roman inscription recently communicated by Mr. Irvine to the Association.

Mr. Birch exhibited a drawing prepared by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, of a Roman house on a tessellated pavement found by Rev. N. Davis at Carthage in 1860, and now in the British Museum, and gave a short description of the details of the building.

Mr. Brock read a communication on Launceston Priory, with a plan illustrative of recent excavations there :—

## LAUNCESTON PRIORY.

BY RICHARD AND OTHO B. PETER.

At pp. 103-4 of the forty-first volume of our *Journal*, 1885, we noticed a work by our Associate Mr. Richard Peter, and his son, viz.: *The Histories of Launceston and Dunheved*. When Messrs. Peter completed their work, the ruins of Launceston Priory were entirely hidden. The authors had become satisfied not only of the former existence of the building, and acquainted with several of its details, but had indicated the general outlines of its site. A solitary arch, at the White Hart Hotel of Dunheved, and half-a-dozen scattered stones were, however, then the only visible mementos of the grand old Priory.

The writers of this history now submit the following notes to the British Archaeological Association.—“A few months after our work had been published, the North Cornwall Railway Company became possessed of a portion of the site of Launceston Priory, and, in excavating for their line, discovered, four or five feet below the surface, the foundations of walls and the base of a well-cut octagonal pillar, *in situ*, which subsequent disclosures induce us to believe were on the east side of the cloisters. Within these walls were found several chamfered groin-stones; about seventy feet of ancient lead pipe, having a very primitive junction where a branch pipe was united with it; a metal candlestick; a large silver horse-harness buckle; and the upper portion of a stone hand-corn-mill.

“Subsequently to the completion of the railway, the Launceston Gas Company became proprietors of another portion of the Priory site, extending north-north-east at about sixty feet distance from the railway-cutting. Whilst enlarging their gas-works, this Company has, during the past year (1888), made considerable excavations in their land, and have exposed to view the foundations of the whole of the eastern end of the Priory Church, which consisted of a presbytery, 56 ft. long by 19 ft. wide, and two side chapels, each 15 ft. long and 11 ft. 6 in. wide. The walls of the presbytery were 5 ft. 6 in. thick, supported by wide, flat, cut stone buttresses externally, and plastered internally, the plastering being coloured. At the west end of its south wall was found the base of a beautifully cut trefoil column, from which sprung the south aisle arcading. In the south side chapel were disclosed the foundations of an altar, a piscina, and also a grave under the floor. The site being marshy, the wall foundations were carried down several feet below the internal floor. The footways being formed of courses of stones, set on edge, each course sloping in a contrary way to the one above it, in what is called



'herring-bone' fashion. These courses were not set in mortar; thus the water drained through them, and left the superstructure dry.

"Besides numerous scattered pieces of delicately-carved tombs or shrines, of small columns, shafts, window-tracery, ceilings, groins, red ridge-tiles, stone dowels, and a few pieces of opaque glass, there were unearthed many loose fragments of encaustic floor-tiles, and eight or ten perfect specimens of such tiles, especially in the north side chapel, where a portion of the floor remained *in situ*. Some of the tiles bore heraldic designs, others capital letters, others geometrical figures. The floors were formed in the following manner. A layer of rough stones was set on edge, earth was thrown over them, and then rammed down level. On this a layer of thin slate was placed, and on the slates the tiles in mortar.

"Outside the north wall of the presbytery were found numerous graves, containing human remains, mostly five feet below the original ground-line. Graves were also found inside the presbytery wall. The graves were in every instance like that shown and illustrated at p. 79, vol. xli of the *British Archæological Journal*.

"Undoubtedly much remains as yet unrevealed. Westward of the Gas Company's diggings, the surface of the land indicates that the ruins of the nave and aisles, and the usual adjuncts of an important priory are there. We are using private efforts to buy the land, or obtain the right to search for those ruins. It would be very gratifying to us, if some of the learned members of the British Archæological Association inspected the site, and aided us with suggestions arising from their experience.

"Some of the perfect tiles, and the fragments of others, and of the shrines or tombs, have been placed in our local museum, above the venerable South Gate. The chief part of the cut stones are carefully deposited in the adjoining churchyard of St. Thomas the Apostle."

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16TH, 1889.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., F.S.A.Scot., in the Chair.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that, following the excavation of an ancient cemetery outside the walls of Rome, the work of exploration had led to the discovery of the foundation walls of the ancient Basilican Church of St. Sylvester, said to have been demolished in the fifteenth century. The building was found to consist of a nave and two aisles, the divisions having been formed by ranges of antique, polished, foreign, granite columns with Ionic capitals, most probably brought from prior use in some Roman fabric

of pre-Christian times. Further particulars are expected, and will be reported to a future meeting.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a pilgrim's bottle and a costrel, both found during some recent excavations in the newly-formed thoroughfare, Tabard Street, Southwark, in close proximity to the site of the ancient Tabard Inn, whence the Canterbury Pilgrims set out for the shrine of St. Thomas Becket. The first of these interesting articles is of green glazed ware, with loops for suspension; the other being of gourd shape, of thin red unglazed ware. Both vessels are nearly perfect, and, from their being of the usual type, such as were taken for use during a journey, and from the place of their discovery, there seems but little reason to doubt but that they belonged to some of the pilgrims to Canterbury. The date is about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Several examples of forged antiques, cast in lead, were laid on the table, the well-known works of the firm of "Billy" and "Charley", whose productions have frequently been described in the *Journal*. These articles were exhibited by way of warning to collectors, and thanks were rendered for this friendly act. Several of the members present urged upon the Association the necessity that some of these objects should be figured in the *Journal* for reference in years to come. The articles at present are well known, and their history can readily be traced; but it was indicated that, in years to come, there would be a proportionate difficulty in doing so, and while only a few persons in remote places are duped now, their numbers will be likely to increase if their history be allowed to be forgotten. The exhibition of other specimens is invited, and the question of publication will be carefully considered. The Chairman exhibited a fine specimen of an incense-boat, recently dug up in a field near Rochester. It is of latten, and it has been gilded, of which but very few traces remain. It has a spreading base, moulded; a shaped stem, and a somewhat flat boat, in the form of a shell, with a hinged cover, the whole designed in Italian taste, indicating that the date is early in the sixteenth century.

A paper was then read by the Chairman on "North Caithness and Orkney", which it is hoped will appear in a future *Journal*. It was illustrated by a number of photographs of the places referred to, by drawings, and by specimens of the various antiquities to which reference was made.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH FEBRUARY 1889.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. J. Chaplin, Pen-y-wern Road, Kensington, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Author :* for “Cymru Fu: Notes and Queries relating to the Past History of Wales.” By G. H. Brierly, 1888.

*To the Publisher :* for “The Library,” No. II, and “Newlyn Parish Magazine,” 1888.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the preparations for the coming Congress at Lincoln were making good progress.

Mr. Brock exhibited a drawing of the Antonine Wall at Camelon, forwarded by Mr. McLuckie of Lanark, to whom the Association desired to return thanks for the communication. Mr. Brock also exhibited a drawing of part of the ruins of Dunfermline Abbey, now destroyed.

Mr. A. G. Langdon exhibited the matrices of five mediæval seals; among them a reverse of a college seal, founded by Henry VIII, the seal of the town of Stoke-Curcey, and the seal of Bishop Gilbert Berkeley.

Mr. Brock exhibited for Miss Shortread a curious Roman fictile lamp of double form, consisting of a large lamp with a small one above it. Upon the ornamentation is seen the Christian monogram or *chi-rho*.

Mr. J. M. Wood exhibited a collection of fourteen miscellaneous gold English coins made up into a bracelet; they are chiefly of George III, but among them was a five-guinea-piece of Charles II.

The Chairman read a letter from the Very Rev. the Dean of Peterborough, promising an account of the remains of the old Saxon church recently discovered beneath the floor of the Cathedral, a plan and explanation of which is now being prepared for him by our Associate, Mr. J. T. Irvine. This communication was received with great pleasure by the members present.

Mr. Irvine sent some drawings and the following notes on “Saxon Monumental Slabs found at Peterborough Cathedral.”

“With this is sent, for exhibition at the evening meeting, a sketch of the last ornamental slab of Saxon date, found (since our last meeting) in executing the repairs at Peterborough Cathedral. Its upper part had

either become previously defaced by the frosts of winter, or during the excavation of the ditch for the foundation of the west wall of the north transept of the present structure in 1117, when, with all the others, its head-stone had been removed and part of its top broken away. Its lower part had also been partly destroyed when the stone-built grave was formed to contain the remains of Bishop Dove (1630). A curious small one, consisting of a plain narrow raised stone of equal width throughout, and retaining its foot-stone, lies close to the left side of the first. It had a small splay along each edge; its section, 9 in. wide, and the height presents, in the dressing of its sides, exactly how much it was intended to be above the surface of the soil.

"A small plan, carefully laid down to scale, accompanies the first sketch, and shows precisely the position each occupies. In no case has any of the remains below been disturbed (or will be), and these last slabs will be preserved at the relative levels and on the spots they now occupy.

"*Peterborough*.—Old wall-decoration discovered during the demolition of some cottages in Cumbergate for the extension of the General Post Office there.—This is interesting as a very good specimen of a class of ornamentation used prior to the introduction of wall-papers. The regularity of the design seems to argue that some sort of stencil pattern was used; but no marks of any junction of such an object could be seen. The ground was a rich reddish-brown, or claret colour; the ornament a light rose, touched up with white. Excellent photographs were obtained of the design by members of the local Photographic Society, of which the copy sent for exhibition is one. The whole was eventually destroyed, and carted away as rubbish. It occurred in a room on the ground-floor of the cottage.

"With the above, in a case for preservation, is also sent, by the request of the Secretary of the local Natural History and Antiquarian Society, an early document relating to land in the south part of the county, which had wandered into Yorkshire, and then been obtained by one of their members and deposited with them. He is desirous it should, if possible, be noted in such a manner as might preserve a record thereof."

Major Josephs read an interesting paper on the destroyed "Church of St. Antholin, in the City of London," and exhibited some of the original books of the church—warden's accounts, and a collection of illustrations connected with the church.



WEDNESDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY 1889.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Society*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," January 1889; "Report of Annual Meeting at Cowbridge," August 1888.

" " for "The Archæological Journal," vol. xlv, No. 180, 1888.

" " for "Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie Bulletin Historique," 148° livraison.

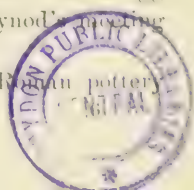
The progress of the arrangements for holding the Congress, in the autumn of the present year, at Lincoln, were detailed. Visits will be paid to all places of antiquarian interest in the locality.

Mr. H. Prigg exhibited two large urns of brown pottery formed on a lathe, which were found by him, as detailed in his recent paper. The excavations made by Mr. Prigg at Elveden, near Thetford, brought these remarkable articles to light, together with some traces of a circular wooden *situla*, mounted with metal, the mountings being covered with ornament of Celtic type. The urns, which were empty, were arranged in form of a triangle, their necks being downwards, and they had evidently been covered over by the *situla*. Although the urns are similar to those used for cinerary purposes, no traces of interments were found within them; but a deposit of burnt bones was met with outside the circle of the *situla*. Mr. Prigg referred to the local controversy with respect to the age of the urns, several antiquaries contending that they were, of necessity, pre-Roman in date. The urns were examined by the members, and the opinion was unanimous that they were Roman, the early type of the ornament being accounted for by the supposition that it had been made by native rather than by Roman workmen.

Mr. Prigg also exhibited a remarkable bell of large size, formed of iron sheeting covered over on both sides with thin bronze; the plates are rivetted together. The clapper, of iron, remains; and there is a broad flat handle for carrying, together with portions of an iron chain of later date. The bell has the appearance of being ecclesiastical, and it was found several years ago in the fenny portion of the parish of Maldenham. It is of this locality that Mr. E. J. L. Scott, M.A., of the British Museum, has found documentary evidence which in his opinion places the Cloveshoe of the early Saxon Synod. Mr. Prigg believes that he is likely to find the exact site of the Synod's meeting at a spot where there are two twin barrows.

Mr. Earle Way contributed another exhibition of Roman pottery.

1889



from Southwark illustrative of the extended occupation of the borough by that people. The exhibits consisted of several specimens found in a recent excavation in Kent Street.

Mr. B. Winstone reported the discovery of a large series of examples of pottery, mostly more or less broken, during some excavations which have just been made by Messrs. Harrison, printers, St. Martin's Lane, on their premises. Several representative specimens of the find were exhibited. These consisted of fragments of delft-ware, of bright colouring and artistic patterns; a bellarmine; a jug coated with green glaze, etc. The age of the bulk of the specimens is that of the reign of Elizabeth, but some are a little earlier. A discussion arose as to the *locale* of the manufacture, and the opinion was expressed that it was most probable that many of the articles had been manufactured in England, the brown glazed ware being of foreign make.

A paper was then read by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., on the "Peculiarities of the Ancient Churches of Cheshire". This paper will appear in the *Journal* on a future occasion.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH MARCH 1889.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donor of the following present to the Library :

*To Ferdinando Borsari*, for "Geografia, Etnologica et Storica della Tri-politana," etc. Torino, 1888.

It was announced by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, that the Association had heard with much pleasure of the proposal by the Cambrian Archæological Association to visit London in May, and would give them a hearty welcome. Mr. Brock also announced further progress of arrangements about the Lincoln Congress. He then read the following account of excavations at the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, kindly communicated by Rev. Canon Routledge :—

"An interesting discovery has lately been made in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. During the course of some antiquarian investigations that are being carried out by Canon Routledge, Canon Scott Robertson, and Dr. Sheppard, excavations were made about 3 feet below the present surface of the ground, at the base of the western wall in the crypt. The Norman walls are composed throughout of Caen stone, but the *west wall* was found to be built up, from the foundations, of Kentish ragstone covered with a thick coat of plaster, apparently of Roman workmanship. If this be the case, the wall must have formed part of the Roman church which was afterwards handed

over by Ethelbert to St. Augustine, 'the church within the city, which St. Augustine consecrated in the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ', so that it became the first English cathedral. The plaster has been examined by an expert, and pronounced to be of an excellent character, and most probably Roman; and it is *pre-Norman without any doubt*, for the Norman columns are placed close against the wall, while the plaster is undisturbed behind it, so that it must have been there at an anterior date."

The Chairman exhibited a Coptic wafer of Communion, and read some descriptive notes. He also read the following communication from the Rev. Canon Collier:

### WELSH INSCRIBED STONES.

BY THE REV. CANON COLLIER.

A friend who has a living on the borders of Pembrokeshire wrote to inform me that he had found several inscribed stones in his neighbourhood, which he thought had escaped the notice of Westwood, Rhys, and other writers on the subject. I went to the places where the stones were found, and send you a few notes of my visit.

We left the train at Clynderwen Station, between Carmarthen and Haverfordwest. After going northwards, at right angles to the line, for some distance, we turned to the left, and soon reached a small church near a farmhouse in the village of Egremont, which lies two miles west of Clynderwen. The church is in sad need of repairs, and much neglected. In the wall at the west end is inserted a stone about 4 feet in height, broader at one end than at the other. There is a roughly incised cross at the top, and underneath are letters placed one under the other. As well as we could make them out they were NANIACUL. I cannot find such a name in Hübner's *Inscriptiones Brit. Christianæ*, nor does he mention the stone. The genitive case of the word is to be noticed.

My friend then drove me to a ruined church at Llandilo, not far from Maen Clochog, which is six miles north-west of Clynderwen Station. This church, to the discredit of the clergyman and patron, is roofless. The walls of the nave and chancel are standing, and the chancel-arch is in its place, but it may fall at any moment. The church is very small: the nave, perhaps, 17 feet by 14 feet; the chancel, 12 feet by 10 feet. Round the wall of the nave runs a stone seat. At the east end, very near to the wall, and outside the chancel, is a remarkable stone. The height is about 4 feet. It has inscriptions on two sides, and an Ogham inscription on the edge. These latter letters I must see again before attempting to interpret them. On this stone, as on that at Egremont, is a cross, but of a more florid character. It is at the head of the stone, and underneath it is an inscription which I

could not well read owing to the darkness of the copse in which the church stands. The third inscription seems to be ANDASERA :: The dots are for letters illegible.

As you enter the churchyard by a stone stile, you will see another inscription on the stone to the left. It is, as well as one could decipher it, COIHASHI ... CAVETI. This I read—(Monumentum) of Coihias-hus, son of Cavetus.

These inscriptions are not in Hübner, nor have I seen any account of them in any work on the subject of Welsh inscribed stones.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. Russell-Forbes on "The Church of St. Valentine in Rome." It is hoped it will be printed hereafter.

Mr. A. G. Langdon read a paper on "Sculptured Crosses in Cornwall," and exhibited a large and artistically drawn series of illustrations of these antiquities.

Mr. Birch, Mr. Brock, Mr. Allen, and others, took part in the discussion which ensued. The paper will be printed, it is hoped, in a future *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH MARCH 1889.

ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., IN THE CHAIR.

O. Marriage, Esq., 41 Denning Road, S. Hampstead, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following present :

*To the University of Nebraska*, for "University Studies," vol. i, No. 11. Oct. 1888.

It was announced that the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, who had expressed his assent, had been elected President for the Congress to be held at Lincoln, and for the ensuing year. His Lordship had also decided upon the date for the meeting, which is to commence on Monday, July 29th, and to terminate on the 3rd of August.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a fine specimen of Roman *Durobriva* or Caistor ware. It is of small size, of good form, and has figures of rabbits and foliage boldly laid on in slip. The mode of manufacture was described, and reference made to Mr. Artis' researches on the site of some of the old Northamptonshire potteries where the ware was made.

A paper on "The Name Glasgow", with reference to the extent of the ancient see of Glasgow, prepared by Miss Russell of Galashiels, was then read, in her absence, by the Chairman.

The second paper, on "The Devil's Fingers and Toe-Nails", by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.Scot., was then read, in the author's absence through continued illness, by Mr. Brock. Carefully executed, full-sized drawings of fossils and other objects referred to in the paper were exhibited.



## Obituary.

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J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, as he was first known to the Literary world (having assumed the name of Phillipps in 1873 by Royal licence), peacefully expired on Thursday, Jan. 3rd, 1889, at his quaintly built yet picturesquely placed "Bungalow", as he was wont to call Hollingbury Copse, two and a half miles from Brighton; and from his self-planned as well as almost self-planted, varied groves of which, grand and extensive views of the boundless sea in front, and of the grand country for miles and miles around, could be commanded.

His illness was short but very painful at last, although he had suffered more or less for some years from the cruel cause of his ultimate death; and this almost unexpected event has brought much distress of mind to his disconsolate widow and large circle of friends "at home", to say nothing of those "abroad", especially in America, who must ever mourn the loss of so true-hearted and accomplished a Shakespearean scholar and gentle-minded a man. It is enough to say of him that, by his kindly manners and genial, winning ways, he took possession of the hearts of all who ever had the happiness of his friendship, since there was something in the nature and even appearance of the deceased that created an instant impression of admiration in the minds of those who came across his path, and of which he was to the last modestly unconscious, such was the simplicity and unselfishness of his character throughout the whole of a tolerably long life, which had, like poor humanity in general, to undergo "the ills which flesh is heir to" in many trying and anxious times, the "*res angusta domi*", even in his, on the whole, happy career, being amongst them; and until in after years, when he came into the enjoyment of considerable property through the death of his father-in-law, Sir Thos. Phillipps, his first wife being, by the will of her Grandfather, sole heiress to large settled estates, he was never wholly free from the cares attendant upon bringing up a family of four charming, and now well-married daughters, nor of having that sufficient repose of mind as to worldly means which an author needs, or naturally desires, more perhaps than any other profession, if we may except an Artist's career, in this struggling, strange, eventful life of ours. It was, therefore, a great solace and comfort to him to find at last the means of living at his

ease, although in doing so he did not in any way relinquish his earnest love of Letters, nor give up for the mere pursuit of idle pleasures the higher instincts of his educated nature, but, on the contrary, he settled down in his later years to a more determined pursuit of his favourite study, that of the plays and poetry of Shakespeare, his life and fortunes, together with the whole range of Elizabethan dramatic Literature, and of which he became, and will no doubt long, if not for ever, remain, the greatest exponent and chief reliable authority we have ever had amongst us.

In his admirably arranged study, or, as he termed it, his "workshop", at Hollingbury Copse, which, alas! is now likely to be razed to the ground—as there is no expectation of such a home of one of Literature's distinguished sons being preserved in its present form, as one cannot but feel it ought to be—he devoted many early hours of each day to these special studies, and, surrounded as he was by some of the rarest books, prints, deeds, drawings, and MSS. of Shakespeare's times, ever brought together in one centre, as it were, at length produced his *magnum opus*, the well-known and world-renowned *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, of which he lived to see—most unexpectedly to him—a seventh edition called for; and, the cry being still for more, he was occupied at the time of his removal from our midst, in preparing for an eighth, with even extra additions from his unceasing, ever-acquiring mind and wonderful power of selection, from the unbounded stores of information he possessed, and the successful researches he had been able to make in his various visits to the Record Office, where he was a diligent student to the last, and to the many Collections of deeds and charters in our country, he had been in the habit of "rummaging", as he quaintly and characteristically called these systematic inspections from year to year in his only summer holiday, and on which "tours of investigation" he was always accompanied by his now widowed wife, who encouraged him greatly by her presence and interest in his literary and general pursuits.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell (Phillipps) joined the British Archaeological Association as an original member, and attended the first Congress at Canterbury, with his old College friend, the late Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., and with him he continued on the most intimate terms until his lamented decease in 1877, and was also closely connected with the only remaining founder of the Society, Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. (unquestionably the best Roman antiquary of the day), for whom he ever had the most friendly and affectionate regard. With the late Mr. Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, F.R.S., the Honorary Treasurer and main supporter of the Society for many years of its existence, he was on the closest terms of friendship, as well as with the late Mr. J. R. Planché, the eminent dramatic writer,

historian, and herald, and for a long time one of the Honorary Secretaries, as afterwards Vice-President, of this Association; to whom he always considered he was indebted for the interest and kindly encouragement he gave to him as a young author and antiquary, from his knowledge of him in 1841, when the first Shakespeare Society was founded, and did such useful and lasting works, until Mr. Planché's lamented death in 1880. To this *Journal* he contributed, in its early career, many learned and interesting papers, as a reference to the index will show; and to the last he continued to be a Vice-President, as well as an earnest well-wisher all through to its useful and honourable career, as evidenced, amongst other things, by his hospitable and elegant Entertainments offered to the members at the Congresses held under the presidency of the late Marquess of Hertford, at Evesham, in 1875, and at Brighton, under that of the Duke of Norfolk, E.M., in 1885.

As several inaccuracies have been published of Mr. Halliwell's early career, it may be as well to state here that on November 13th, 1837, he matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and that in the following year he obtained an open Scholarship at Jesus College, to which he removed, and was soon after appointed Librarian by the then Master.

In 1838 he published his first book, entitled *A Brief Account of the Life, Writings, and Inventions of Sir Samuel Morland, Master of Mechanics to Charles II*, in 8vo., and at Cambridge.

On the 30th of May 1839, and at the almost unprecedented age of nineteen (as he was born in 1820), he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, having been an F.S.A. some time before, as well as an F.R.A.S. The late Lord Brougham was, it is stated, an F.R.S. at an earlier age.

In 1840 he published ten books, and in 1841 becoming acquainted with Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middlehill, near Broadway, Worcestershire, a great Bibliophilist, he was invited to his house, and treated like a son, a room being always kept for him, and a welcome given whenever he liked to come. Here he fell in love with the eldest daughter of his host, a pretty and accomplished lady, and was accepted by not only herself, but by Sir Thomas also; who, however, changing his mind afterwards, tried to break off the match, in which he failed completely, as the young people were publicly married at Broadway Church in June 1842. Hence arose an intense bitterness of feeling towards them both, on the part of Sir Thomas, which lasted to the day of his death, and which was accompanied by many petty persecutions and cruelly spiteful insinuations, all of which they happily lived through, although at times encountering almost straitened circumstances in their domestic life; but which was gallantly overcome by the young and sorely tried couple, by their devotion to one another,

and the diligent way in which the husband met the situation, by issuing more books on his favourite subjects than at any other time of his life, and thus weathering the storm until the demise of Sir Thomas Phillipps brought his dearly loved wife, as sole heiress of Middlehill, into a large although as far as her Father had been able to make it so, a sadly deteriorated and encumbered property. The poor lady did not live for many years to enjoy this altered state of affairs, for being thrown from her horse at Worthing, whilst riding with her daughters, she received such injuries as to cause her to become a confirmed invalid, and which terminated in her lamented death in the spring of 1879.

One of the most interesting episodes in Mr. Halliwell's life was being the means, through the publication of a little tract entitled *On the Last Days of William Shakespeare*, of purchasing, in 1861, "New Place," Stratford on Avon, where the Poet lived and died, and which, with the ruined foundations of the house and remains of the old gardens and bowling-green attached to it, forms one of the principal objects of Shakespearean attraction in the celebrated town. This was done chiefly by Mr. Halliwell's unaided exertions, he having got together a sum of nearly £5,000 by subscriptions from the public, and thus was enabled to carry out his intention of dedicating the purchase to the town of Stratford-on-Avon for ever. Let us hope that by this act of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's long and laborious life, as far as general literature is concerned, and especially for his love and devotion to Shakespearean studies and research, exemplified by so many of his publications, even to the last "labour of love" upon which he was employed when he died, that whatever feelings of forgetfulness or of ingratitude there may have been shown to him, and which he felt keenly of late, have now died out, and that one only thought remains in all Stratford-on-Avon, and that one, how to do honour to the memory and devoted work of such a man as James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, not only in the cause of Shakespeare himself, but for the good he always sought to do in the world of letters and the world at large.

The writer of this brief chronicle was an early and long-continued friend of the subject of it, and to this hour feels deeply the loss he and many others have sustained in the deprivation of his ever kindly, generous, and inspiring society, fully attested by the already published tributes of affectionate regard for him, in every way, from the pens of accomplished writers throughout Europe and America, and as such, having had the happiness and pleasure to know the honoured subject of his recent thoughts so long, and his family from "the first to the second generation", by which he would include the amiable lady, who, as his second wife and companion of recent years, helped him in every kindly and befitting manner to dispense the



many graceful hospitalities of Hollingbury Copse—he would, ere he closes this, be aware, but feeble endeavour to pourtray his character or comment on his renown, venture to suggest to the many admirers and old friends of the departed, that now is the time that a combined effort should be made to raise a fitting monument to him, by a memorial in marble or brass in Stratford Church, and as near to the resting-place of Shakespeare, whom he loved so well, and of whom he ever discoursed so eloquently. The writer has already spoken of this idea to several friends, whom the late Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps knew well, and trusted equally, and who would willingly co-operate in the organisation of such a movement, and of which he, as the originator of the idea, would willingly undertake the duties of Honorary Secretary, if none better could be found. He would also suggest that the following noble lines of Tennyson, so touchingly expressive, and appropriate in every way, might well be used as a fitting tribute to his loving work on whatever monument was raised to him :

“ If, in thy second state sublime,  
 Thy ransom’d reason change replies  
 With all the circle of the wise,  
 The perfect flower of human time ;

“ And if thou cast thine eyes below,  
 How dimly character’d and slight,  
 How dwarf’d a growth of cold and night,  
 How blanch’d with darkness must I grow !

“ Yet turn thee to the doubtful shore  
 Where thy first form was made a man.  
 I loved thee, Spirit, and love, nor can  
 The soul of Shakespeare love thee more.”

G. R. W.

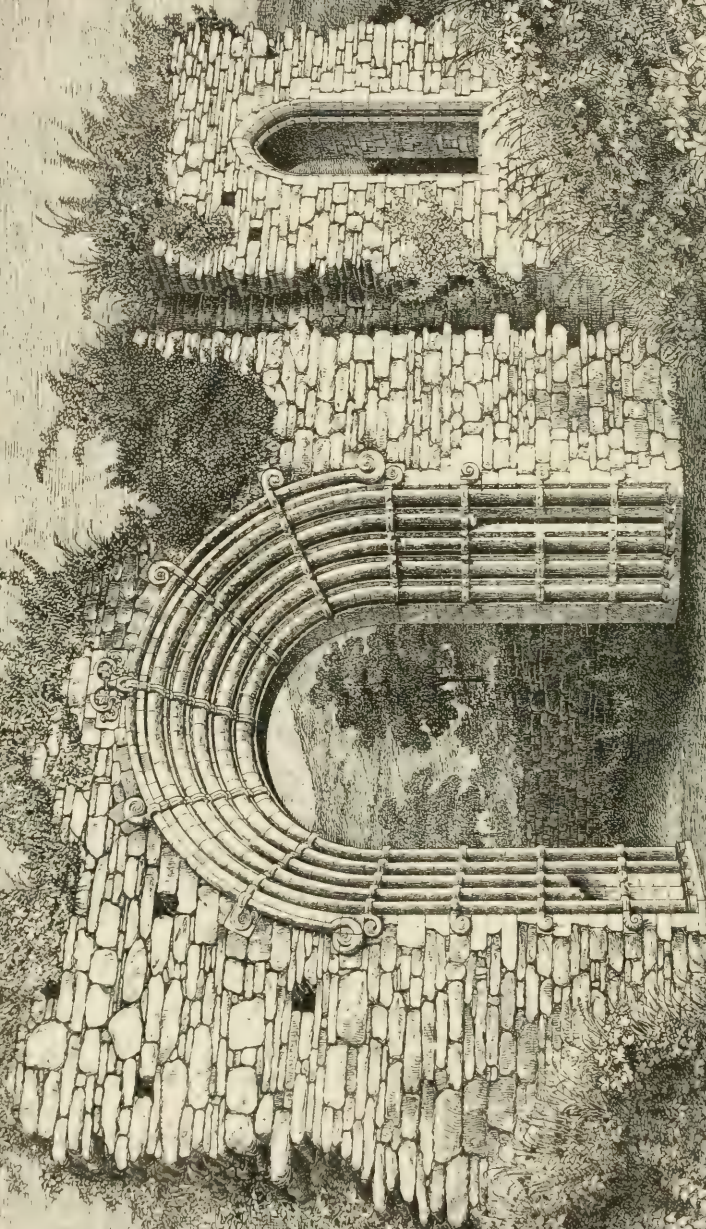
## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Antiquarian Jottings relating to Bromley, Hayes, Keston, and West Wickham, in Kent.* By GEORGE CLINCH, of the British Museum, and 22, Nicholson Road, Addiscombe, Surrey.—In the neighbourhood of Bromley relics have been found illustrating early periods of history. The fields of West Wickham have yielded many specimens of palæolithic and neolithic workmanship. The British or pre-Roman period is well represented by the fine old camp in Holwood Park. The remains of buildings at War Bank, Keston, carry one's mind back to the period of the Roman occupation of Britain. All these various branches will be treated in the pages of *Antiquarian Jottings*. In the churches of Bromley, Hayes, Keston, and West Wickham notes will be taken of features of ecclesiological interest, and attention will be paid to the memorials of the dead, whether brasses, tombs, ledger-stones, or mural tablets. The old mansions within the district—such as Bromley Palace, Hayes Place, West Wickham Court, and Holwood, celebrated from their association with great men—will receive a due share of attention. The quarto volume will contain upwards of 200 pages, with about sixteen engravings. The subscription will be five shillings net, including delivery. There are a few large paper copies at 10s. 6d. each.

*The Counting-out Rhymes of Children, their Antiquity, etc.: a Study in Folk-lore.* By H. C. BOLTON. (London: Stock. 1888.)—The comparatively new branch of archaeology to which we assign the name of folk-lore, although still in its infancy, may boast of being as attractive as some of the older branches of the tree of knowledge. Certainly, many of the works which illustrate the subject exercise a singular fascination for the reader. The work before us is no exception to the rule. Mr. Bolton evinces a great research, which has been rewarded by the recovery of a vast number of rhymes and sentences used by children of all races of the world in their games for determining by lot the one among them destined to commence the game. We are all familiar with many of those rhymes of our own country; but of the *rationale* and origin of them little is known. Only by comparison of cognate foreign specimens can light be shed at times upon these strange productions, in which onomatopœia and jingle of sound enter so much. Mr. Bolton has therefore rendered signal service towards the elucidation of these archaic sentences by supplying us with parallel examples and local variations, without which philological



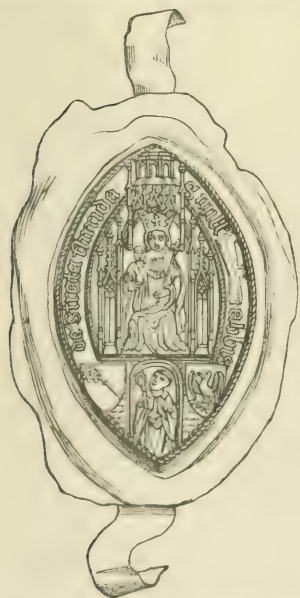
WEST FRONT  
STRATA FLORIDA ABBEY





inquiry would be in vain. Many of the words in the collection are new to all English dictionaries; but we suppose Dr. Murray's army of word-hunters will not lose much time in deriving a harvest from it.

*The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida: its History, and an Account of the Recent Excavations made on its Site.* By S. W. WILLIAMS. (London: Whiting and Co.)—The monastic history of our country has by no means yet been exhausted. The first appearance of the *New Monasticon*, under able editorship, promised well; but a large proportion of the religious houses mentioned in the pages of that extensive work have been described in so meagre and insufficient a manner, that their history must be written again. Not only recent excavations on conventual sites, for the most part levelled with the ground, but the more thorough examination of ancient records, afford the modern antiquary a far greater quantity of material for the study of individual foundations than the editors of the *Monasticon* ever acquired, or cared to acquire. The excavations, begun in 1887 and carried on at later times by Mr. Williams, have revealed the plan of the buildings, and have left practically little to be done. Cistercian architecture is always interesting, as the late Mr. Sharpe and the veteran Mr. J. C. Buckler have shown; and here we have many examples of moulding



and other architectural details which would be new to these archaeologists. Mr. Williams begins his work with the history of the founders, Rhys ap Tewdwr, Gruffydd ap Rhys, and Rhys ap Gruffydd, in which he tracks the intricate history of Mid-Wales from early times down to the beginning of the thirteenth century. To this follows the history of the Abbey; description of the possessions, which were extensive; some account of the charters, and extracts from chronicles and MSS. throwing light on the condition of the Abbey; and, finally, an account of the excavations and architecture of the buildings. By Mr. Williams' plan we are for the first time put in possession of an intelligible key to the position of the buildings. The peculiar carved detail, like the head of a crozier or pastoral staff, seen on the plate

of the west front which accompanies this notice, is evidently inspired by the pastoral staff in bend which forms the heraldic bearing of the Abbey, as shown on the Abbot's seal in the British

Museum. The cluster of early graves of monks and abbots in the south-east angle of the south transept is a notable feature in Mr. Williams' work of excavating; and the elegant encaustic tile pavements, and other architectural drawings with which the work is copiously illustrated leave nothing to be desired in this monograph on an important Welsh abbey. An appendix of original documents and translations, and a full index complete the work. There are many other abbeys in Wales which yet demand a careful *vates sacer* to record their well-nigh forgotten tale. Margam, Strata Marcella, Basingwerk, Cymmer, and Whitland, may be equally well discoursed of, and of these, too, there is an abundance of records which only requires gathering together and arranging. If Mr. Williams will do for these what he has done so well and so thoroughly for Strata Florida, he will confer a signal boon upon Cambrian archæology and monastic history, which will reflect the greatest credit upon the author of the task.

*Roman Lancashire*, 1883. *Roman Cheshire*, 1886. Liverpool: Printed for the author.—In these two well-printed and well-illustrated volumes Mr. Thompson Watkin has contributed valuable materials towards the history of this part of Britain under the Roman rule. With great energy and perseverance he has personally examined the various *vici*, military and vicinal, the remains of *castra* and villas, and, the most important of all that time and vandalism have spared, inscriptions. Awarding to the departed antiquary (whose premature death we all lament) the highest praise, we venture to point out for the consideration of those who possess his works a few suggestions and corrections which we conceive may be acceptable.

The inscriptions referred to in p. 5 of *Roman Cheshire*, discovered at Wroxeter, do not give evidence of the 14th Legion having been quartered there, or that it was there at all. The officers commemorated had retired to that town to dwell after their discharge from military service; and there would have been no need of part of a legion to keep the *Ceangri* quiet, seeing, from the long anterior working of the lead-mines of their district, that they must have been in a quiescent and friendly state.

Page 12. No such medal as that referred to (with doubt) is known. Geta is not likely to have visited *Dera*, having been left in the south of Britain. *Eboracum*, York (page 13), was not the capital of the Brigantes; but *Isurium* was, as shown in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus.

Page 94. As for the Roman walls of Chester being in a state of ruin in the seventh century, and rebuilt by the Saxons, we disbelieve altogether such a conclusion. It has been contended that the Roman walls of London were rebuilt by Alfred; but we have only to turn to

Mr. de Gray Birch's historical extracts in a recent number of our *Journal* to be convinced that the walls were not included in Alfred's restorations. Mr. Watkin's denial of Roman work in the Chester walls has been so conclusively refuted elsewhere, that we need not do more than mention his palpable errors.

Page 115. The Roman drainage of Deva, in spite of various opinions adduced by Mr. Watkin, and a want of evidence such as Lincoln affords, must have been substantial and complete. Unlike the mediæval and modern, Roman towns were invariably drained.

Page 171. The inscription commencing *Pro Salute Dominorum* has been usually attributed to Diocletian and Maximian. Mr. Watkin would transfer it to Severus and Caracalla; but in such a doubtful question it must be considered that we do not find the title *Dominus* used upon coins before the time of Aurelian, and that it was commonly adopted by his successors.

Page 196. The Roman arch in the Castle is called *post-Roman* by Mr. Watkin and Mr. Shrubsole; but, so far as our recollection goes, it appears to be a *bonâ fide* Roman arch belonging to some building destroyed, but left to stand as a portion of the new construction: of this there are other examples.

Page 258. The leaden salt-pans, which we have considered and do consider to be Roman, Mr. Watkin believes to be mediæval.

Page 313. There can be reason for not considering these beautiful gold *armillæ* to be other than British.

One of the most remarkable and novel features in *Roman Lancashire* is the paved Roman road running, as is supposed, from Manchester to Rochdale. The engraving of it at Blackstone Edge shows how substantially the Roman engineers carried their roads over localities which demanded especial and peculiar construction. It will not be supposed that many roads required paving in such an expensive manner.

Page 106. To Mr. Watkin we owe the re-discovery of the altar to *Fortuna Conservatrix*, found in 1612. It had been transferred from the Leverian to the Ashmolean Museum.

Ribchester, the *Bremetonacum* of Antoninus, receives proper attention from Mr. Watkin, who reprints all that has been written about it, and illustrates the important inscriptions. The Ribble has washed away nearly one-third of the great station or town; and no doubt many inscribed stones and other remains have been submerged, and would repay the cost of dredging the river. The elaborately ornamented helmet, now in the British Museum, which Mr. Watkin considers was used in processions, we should suggest was votive, and deposited in a temple.

Whether the inscription (page 141) to Trajanus Decius was military

or dedicatory may be a question: but in other instances Mr. Watkin has mistaken the latter for the former, and thus led several writers into error.

Page 178. The inscription *Deo Ialono Contre*, etc., has puzzled Mr. Watkin and Dr. Hübner; and Mr. Watkin, in despair, says, "Who this 'most holy god Jalonus' was, we do not know." We suggest that the IALONE indicates the station *Alone*, which seems named from the river, which runs near it. It is rather curious that Mr. Watkin, with the key as it were in his hand, should have gone to Berlin (but in vain) for a locksmith.

*The Book of Noodles*, by W. A. CLOUSTON (London: Stock), is another contribution of a most attractive character towards comparative Folk-Lore. Numberless tales of simpletons and their follies may be collected from the mediæval MSS. in the British Museum; and although Mr. Clouston has scarcely drawn from this prolific fountain so much as he might have done, he has certainly collected a curious series of archaic tales which form the foundation of many of the romances which are given to the world now-a-days as new and underived.

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### THE GREAT SEALS OF SCOTLAND.

BY ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., CHIEF ENGRAVER  
OF HER MAJESTY'S SEALS.

(*Read at the Glasgow Congress, 29 August 1888.*)

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#### PART I.

As monuments of the past there are no memorials so small and yet so full of information and permanent as those produced by the numismatic and sphragistic arts. In glancing backwards, therefore, at the history of Scotland, these memorials deserve attentive consideration. The coinage and medals of Scotland have been dealt with so exhaustively and ably by the present Under-Secretary for Scotland, Dr. Cochran-Patrick (whose absence from our company this evening, owing to official duties, we must all regret), that there remains but little to be added in that direction of study. The subject of Scottish seals has also had some attention paid to it, notably by Anderson, in his *Diplomata Scotiæ*, and by the late Mr. Laing of Edinburgh. Anderson, however, gives no description of the seals that he illustrates, and Laing treats only with a light hand the one section of Scottish seals which, to the historical student, to the lawyer, and to the general archæologist, is of far greater importance than any other, namely, the Great Seals of Scotland. At the request of my friends, the Secretaries of the British Archaeological Association, I have prepared a paper upon this subject, which, in the course of the evening, I will hand to those gentlemen, with a

view of its publication in the *Proceedings* of this Congress, should they deem it worthy of such distinction. I do not propose to read this paper to you now, for unless I could furnish each member of the present company with an impression of every seal that I were to refer to, and with a strong magnifying-glass to help you to examine some of them, I fear that I should soon wear away your patience. But with your permission, and by your kind indulgence, I will mention a few facts about this series of seals which may prove of interest by way of a general introduction to each of those seals in particular, to those who by-and-by may care to look through my more extended description.

Having for many years been familiar with the Great Seals of England, I may perhaps be pardoned if I begin by one or two remarks of comparison between the seals of England and of Scotland.

The earliest known Great Seal for any king of Scotland was made for Duncan II, who commenced his reign in A.D. 1094. The earliest known Seal for any king in England is that of Offa, who began his reign in 757. In both countries the Seals at first bore designs only on one side. Those in England were placed upon the face of the documents; those in Scotland were appended to documents, the wax on the blank side being domed. Seals with designs on both sides were first made in Scotland for Alexander I, in 1107, and in England for Edward the Confessor, in 1042. The Seals of Scotland, although usually similar in general design to those of England, namely, with the king enthroned on one side, and the king mounted on horseback on the reverse, have far greater varieties in design and size than those in use in the southern kingdom.

Before referring to the designs of the Seals, I should like to call attention to the legends which run round them. I notice that from the first the title of the King is given as *Rex Scottorum*, and that that was continued until the Seals of Charles I, when the title was altered, first to *Mag[nae] Brit[anniae] Rex*, and subsequently to *Rex Scotiae*. Of course, I am perfectly aware that in England the title *Rex Anglorum* was maintained until the reign of King John, when, in

1199, it was changed to *Rex Anglie*, and that in France the title of *Rex Francorum* was always maintained, and never changed, so long as that people could boast of a king. Still, the very form *Rex Scottorum* is of interest, reminding us, as it does, that this part of Britain, now known as Scotland, was not known by that name in early historic times, but by that of Caledonia; the name Scotia being applied to Ireland, whence came to this country the powerful immigrants who, in the ninth century, after prolonged conflict, at length gained such mastery over the Picts as to become really the lords of the land. In another particular do the legends in these Seals differ from those on the English and French Seals, in the expression bearing reference to the Divine Power by which the kings reigned. In the early Seals—namely, those of Duncan II, Alexander I, William I, and Alexander II—the expression was DEO RECTORE; but John Balliol adopted the expression used by the English and French sovereigns, DEI GRATIA. After him Robert Bruce recurred to the phrase DEO RECTORE; but David II again used DEI GRATIA, and this has been used by all his successors.

The earliest Seal, that of King Duncan II, shows the sovereign on horseback bearing a lance in his right hand; and with this weapon the sovereign appears in all subsequent Seals until we come to the Seal of Alexander II, 1214, when the lance is exchanged for the sword.

The next Seal is that of King Edgar, about which there is a question as to whether it is genuine or not. In the Seal there are two features which remind one of Edward the Confessor's Seal:—1. *His peaceful guise*: he is seated on a throne, without armour; and, although with his left hand he holds a sword, that sword is sheathed; 2. *The use of the Latinised Greek word BASILEI* in the legend.

In the third Seal of this series, that of Alexander I, the King appears enthroned, wearing State robes. These robes continue the same in general arrangement until the reign of Queen Mary. The most noteworthy feature in these robes is the mantle, and the mode by which it was fastened. In the earlier Seals the fastening appears to

have been made by hooks or brooches in front of the neck ; but these were subsequently (1320) replaced by cords. These cords appear to have given much trouble to the kings, for from the weight of the mantles, they had a tendency to fall down the back, and thus bring the cords round the sovereign's throat, at the imminent risk of strangling the royal wearer. To prevent this, in a large number of Seals the king is seen using his left hand to hold the cords. The king's left hand, when so used, could not, of course, hold an orb, and this emblem of sovereignty is consequently missing in the majority of Seals.

On the reverse of Alexander I's Seal, as well as on that of David I's, the lance of the king bears a gonfanon. On this I see an ornament which I cannot very clearly make out, but in certain lights it has somewhat the appearance of St. Andrew standing in front of his cross ; the head of the saint pointing towards the lance, and his body being at right angles to the staff. The prevalence of this kind of piety is well known as a characteristic of this age, and there is therefore a probability of a representation of the saint having been placed upon the banner ; but I would like to see more examples of each of these Seals before pronouncing a definite opinion upon this point.

In the Seal of Alexander I, as in the Seal of nearly all the subsequent kings, the pommels and cantles of the saddle are conspicuously large. Similar helps to the royal riders appear in some of the Great Seals of England ; but the pommels in the Seals of Scotland are much more marked and pronounced. As this is a prominent feature in saddles employed in Spain, Mexico, and Peru, it would seem that these high pommels were considered of special service in mountainous countries, and that therefore, in this "land of the mountain and the flood", this kind of saddle was much more used than in the flatter kingdom of the South.

Coming to the Seal of William I, we notice the same peculiarity in his shield that Richard I of England subsequently had upon his first Great Seal, namely, a spike projecting from the centre. This feature appears in the Seal of no successor of either of these two monarchs.



This spike on the shield acquires special interest on a Scottish Seal, reminding one, as it does, of how the shield which in Southern hands was only a weapon of defence, has, by the brave Highlanders of Scotland, been made a most formidable weapon of offence. William was known by the surname of "the Lion", which is said to have been given him on account of the animal of that name appearing upon his shield. It is interesting in this respect to notice that no lion is shown upon the king's shield in his Seal.

In this series of Seals the lion rampant as an heraldic charge appears first of all on the Seal of Alexander II. The lion within the double tressure flory counterflory, which has been borne upon the shield as the recognised arms of the royal family of Scotland ever since, appears for the first time in the seal of the guardians of Scotland carrying on the government between the years 1286 and 1292.

The Seal of Alexander III is interesting from its strong resemblance to the second Great Seal of Henry III of England. I notice that the field of this Seal of Alexander III is sprinkled with slipped trefoils, but I am at a loss to explain their meaning. There are, however, most probably, many gentlemen here to-night who can at once enlighten me. If they will kindly do so, I shall feel much obliged.<sup>1</sup> This Seal of Alexander III is noteworthy in another respect. It is the first in which the horse wears a caparison. Touching upon this subject, I would briefly state that in this series of Seals, at first the caparison round the hind-quarters is continuous, and leaves no opening for the tail; in subsequent Seals, a small opening is made through which the tail is drawn, and this appendage of the horse is tightly wound round with thread close to the animal's body.

Seal No. 21 (said to be that of John Balliol), of which only a fragment remains, shows the influence of French art upon several of this series of Seals. This particular Seal is so similar in certain points to the second Seal of Philip III of France that I exhibit Philip's Seal for

<sup>1</sup> June 1889. I am still without information upon this point, although Mr. W. de Gray Birch has ingeniously suggested that the *triple* form of the leaf may allude to the *third* Alexander.—A. W.

comparison with it. The most striking feature is the throne, the sides of which project and terminate in carvings of dogs' heads; the legs of the throne are thin, and terminate as dogs' feet or eagles' claws. The first appearance of this form of throne (there, however, in a very rudimentary state) is in the Seal of Edgar (1097). After this we meet with it again in the Seals of Robert Bruce and David II.

Passing on to the Seals of the two Balliols, John and Edward, it is worthy of note that both have the Balliol arms as well as the royal arms of Scotland upon their Seals. John, however, gives the post of honour to the Balliol arms, while Edward places the Balliol arms in the second place, to the sinister instead of the dexter. In neither Seal are the tinctures of the Balliol arms discernible; but there is no reason to doubt that in both cases they are meant to represent a field *gules* charged with an orle *argent*, as seen in a window, placed in the chapter-house of York Minster, in honour of John de Balliol's marriage with Isabel, daughter of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, Lord of Conisbrough. The arms, too, are the same as those borne by the celebrated College at Oxford, founded by the father of John de Balliol, and named after him.

In the Seal of Robert II, some odd-looking figures appear in the architectural work on each side of the throne, holding up the shields of the monarch. They are not angels, such as appear in the Seals of England and France. They bear some resemblance to immense birds, especially the parts seen at the foot of the shield; but the upper part is something like a human skeleton. In this Seal, over the battlements, are seen men-at-arms similar to those appearing in the Second Seal of Absence of Edward III of England. These grotesque figures and these men-at-arms occur in a still more remarkable manner in the Seal of James V.

When we come to the Seal of Robert III, we notice the field of the Seal ornamented all over with a flowing floral device, after the Italian style of seal engraving. This is a peculiarity not found in the Great Seals of England nor in those of Scotland at any earlier period. Its existence here, we can little doubt, is attributable to

Moulakyn (or Mulekyn) and Bonagino, two Florentine engravers who entered the Scottish Mint about 1364, and were at work there certainly until 1377, and possibly longer, and who, after they left the Mint, may very likely have remained resident in Scotland.

The next Seal in this series is of great interest, bringing forcibly before our minds one of the important epochs in the history of this country. When Robert III died, in 1406, his son James, who nominally succeeded to the throne, was a captive in the hands of Henry IV, King of England; and in that country the youthful James spent eighteen weary years of captivity. Meanwhile, the government of Scotland was carried on by the young King's uncle, Robert, Duke of Albany, and, after the death of that Duke, by Murdoch, his son. Now the charters issued during that period—throughout which the royal estates were freely bestowed upon various partisan noblemen by the Regents—did not run in the name of the King, as during other regencies, but solely in the Regent's name; and the Seals attached to these documents, although at first glance appearing similar to the Great Seals of former kings, bore no effigy of, or reference to, the King, but bore the names, arms, and effigy of the Regent. We see in this a determined attempt to supersede the King and pave the way for the Regent's assumption of full regal power and dignity, and do not wonder that throughout the whole of this period the kingdom was full of strife and conflict.

When James I was released at last from captivity and assumed regal power, he had a Great Seal made, which has become remarkable from one fact. It was in use for a longer period than any other Seal in this country ever was. Made about 1414 for James I, it was used by his four immediate successors of the same name; and I have seen it attached to a charter granted by James V as late as July 1540. It was thus in use for upwards of 125 years—a period of time longer than that during which its famous contemporary, the Brétigny Seal, was in use in England, the latter having been used for 111 years only, from 1360 to 1471.

James II, James III, and James IV, put marks of difference upon this Seal, and it has been by the observation



of the use of these that the coinage of Scotland at this period has been settled. Dr. Cochran-Patrick refers to this in his valuable work upon the coinage of Scotland. The marks of difference are these:—James II added four annulets on the throne side of the Seal, and on the counterseal four other annulets and a small crown; James III further added a small fleur-de-lis; and James IV altered one of the annulets into a three-looped knot or trefoil.

James V's second Seal, which appears to have been used for only a few months, was engraved after the same design as the famous Seal he first used, but is a very poor imitation of it.

With the first Seal of Queen Mary begins a new order of seals. The Gothic style is replaced by the Renaissance; and whilst the Sovereign is represented enthroned on one side, the counterseal bears no second representation of the Sovereign, but is merely an heraldic device. On this counterseal the legend bears no reference to the Sovereign, but a quotation from the Book of Psalms,—*SALVVM FAC POPVLVM TVVM DNE.*

Queen Mary's second Seal is French in character, with the small counterseal.

The third is interesting on account of its commemoration of her marriage with Francis, King of France. On one seat the youthful sovereigns sit, each holding two sceptres. Both are crowned and clothed in robes of state. Francis wears a collar and badge of some order of knighthood, which M. Luce, the Chief of the Historical Section of the Archives Nationales, thinks represents the Order of St. Michael,—an Order which in those days was highly esteemed, though subsequently it fell into disrepute. The legend on the Seal is most remarkable for its assumption of titles. The sovereigns were not content with calling themselves King and Queen of the French and of the Scots, which they were in fact; but added England and Ireland to their titles, which belonged to them only by a figment of the imagination.

The first Seal of James VI appears to have been the first Seal of his mother, Queen Mary, with an altered legend round the throne side. The second is remarkable chiefly for the change in the armour in which the



King is arrayed. For the first time the sovereign adds a numeral after his name. The Italian style of engraving is reverted to again, the Seals of Mary having chiefly been of the French style.

After the union of the Crowns of Scotland and England in 1603, James VI had a new Seal engraved of larger size than any yet used in Scotland: a rose, a fleur-de-lis, a portcullis, and a thistle, the badges of England, France, and the House of Tudor, as well as that of Scotland, appear on one side of the Seal; and on the other side the arms of England, France, and Ireland, in addition to those of Scotland, attest the union of Scotland and England into one country under the name of "Magna Britannia", as set forth in the legend of the Seal.

Charles I, after altering the name in the legend, continued to use this Seal for a short time, but soon had another engraved, which, from its similarity of one side to that of his second Seal for England, I conclude would have been engraved about the same time, that is to say, in the third year of his reign. This Seal is typical of all the subsequent Great Seals of Scotland, which on one side display the sovereign on horseback in the same attitude as on the Great Seal of England, but with a view of Edinburgh instead of London, and one or two other minor differences. The other side of the Seal, however, has the arms of the United Kingdom, Scotland, of course, taking the place of honour, the first quarter, and in the supporters the unicorn going to the dexter, and the lion to the sinister. In the Seal of Charles, the lion is not only put in the second place, but is made a lion coward, with its tail between its legs, no doubt to the delight of the artist, if this portion of the Seal were engraved by a Scotsman.

There is one other particular in these Seals to which I think I ought to call attention, and that is, the many different forms in which the Scottish crown appears. The band is sometimes ornamented by fleurs-de-lis only, all of one size; sometimes by large and small fleurs-de-lis; sometimes pearls appear, sometimes crosses, and sometimes trefoils; but there is one feature characteristic of all, with a single doubtful exception, and that is, the

three fleurs-de-lis, one in the centre, and one at each end of the band ; and this is a feature always noticeable upon the coins of Scotland, too, until after the union of the crowns. In this respect the Scottish crown differs from the English, for the position of the fleurs-de-lis and crosses are reversed in the crowns of the two kingdoms.

I now hand to the Honorary Secretaries a full description of all the Seals from Duncan II to Charles I; but I feel, if I may be permitted to say so, that the work can at present in no way compare with the book by my late brother, Mr. Alfred B. Wyon, and myself, upon *The Great Seals of England*, although I may have laid the firm basis for a similar book which may one day be published. To do so satisfactorily, however, would necessitate a personal examination of a vast number of original charters and Seals scattered throughout Scotland and England. So far, I have only examined those found in the British Museum, London, the Cathedral Muniment Room, Durham, and the General Register House, Edinburgh, and the City Charters of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, and Stirling.

If the members of this Congress who know where access can be gained to any charter with impressions of the Great Seals of Scotland attached to them would kindly let me know personally or by letter, I should be very glad, and would endeavour, at some future time, to visit such places and make an exhaustive examination of such documents, so that more exact information may be given upon this important and interesting subject—the Great Seals of Scotland.

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#### THE GREAT SEALS OF SCOTLAND.

No. 1. *Duncan II*, 1094-1097 (about 2 in. diam.).—The king on horseback, galloping to the right. The king is clothed in trellised hauberk, and his legs are protected by the same kind of armour. He wears a conical helmet with nasal. He holds in his right hand a lance bearing a pennon ending in two streamers, and on his left arm a kite-shaped shield. The horse has a saddle and bridle.

Legend: SIGILL[VM DVNCANI DEO RECTORE REGIS SCOT-]  
TORVM.

No. 2. *Edgar*, 1097-1107 (2.5 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, wearing a crown of three points, the one on the king's right being apparently a trefoil. His mantle is fastened over his right shoulder, leaving the right arm free, and falls in front of his body and passes over the left arm at the elbow. In his right hand he supports a sceptre, the top of which terminates in a fleur-de-lis; the other end rests upon his thigh. In his left hand he holds a sheathed sword in an almost perpendicular position, the handle of which rests upon the king's thigh. The king's feet rest upon a footstool. The throne, which is without a back, is supported by legs, at an angle of forty-five degrees from off the perpendicular, terminating as eagle's claws.

Legend: [IMAGO] EDGARI SCOTTORVM BASILEI.

No. 3. *Alexander I*, 1107-1124 (about 2.75 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, vested in State robes, which appear to be as follows: an under-garment, which extends to the wrists; a tight-fitting body-garment, becoming loose and ample a little below the waist, and extending below the knees, with loose sleeves extending to the elbow, where they are wide and open; over all a richly-embroidered mantle, fastened in front of the breast with two short cords hanging down and terminating in tassels. The mantle passes over the king's right elbow, showing his right side and the lower part of his arm. On the left the robe covers more of the body, and extends nearly to the wrist. In the king's right hand is a drawn sword, held obliquely, pointing inwards. In his left hand is an orb, ensigned with a cross on a long stem. The king's feet rest on a footstool. Boots or socks extend a little above the ankles. On the top of the throne is a cushion. In the field of the Seal, beneath the king's left hand, is a disc, charged with a flower or other device of eight points. A circle of beads separates the device from the legend.

Legend: ✠ ALEXANDER DEO REC[TORE REX S]COTORV[M].

No. 4. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right. The king wears a tunic extending to the knee, over which he wears chain-armour. He also wears a conical helmet with nasal; the face is otherwise unprotected. In his right hand is a lance with a pennon

on the top, terminating in three streamers. The left arm of the king bears a shield, the inside of which is shown—the king's left hand holding the *en armes* of the shield, and grasping the reins of the horse. He wears a prick spur. The horse is bridled, and wears a pectoral, a saddle with high cantles and pommels, and stirrups. The head of the lance, the hoofs of the horse, and the top of the helmet break through a circle of beads, which separates the central design from the legend.

Legend: ALEXAND[ER DEO RECTORE] REX SCOTTORV[M.]

No. 5. *David I*, 1124-1153.—The king enthroned, the same as No. 3.

Legend: ✠ DAV[ID].....

No. 6. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, the same as No. 4. The studs fastening the leather on the inside of the shield are shown.

No. 7. *Malcolm IV*, 1153-1165.—Only a small fragment of this Seal remains, but sufficient is left to show the king enthroned, holding in his left hand, which is extended, an orb, very similar to that in Nos. 3 and 5.

No. 8. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right. The fragment shows a Seal similar in design to Nos. 4 and 6.

Legend: [MALC]OLV[M.]

No. 9. *William I*, 1165-1214 (3.1 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, as in No. 3, but the figure and the head here are thinner and taller; the mantle is fastened close to the neck and passes over the king's shoulders, leaving both his arms visible. The body-garment is longer, and extends almost to the ankles; the sleeves of this garment are also longer, and reach below the elbow. No marks of socks or shoes appear. The sword, in the king's right hand, is held more perpendicularly; its point passes into the band bearing the legend, separating the letters *v* and *m* in SCOTTORVM. The cross ensigning the orb has not the inward inclination as in No. 3. The field of the Seal has no ornament under either hand of the king. A mere line separates the device from the legend.

Legend: ✠ WILLELMVS DEO RECTORE REX SCOTTORV/M.

No. 10. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right. The king is clothed in a hauberk and



conical helmet with nasal. In his right hand he carries, in an oblique position, a lance, at the top of which is a gonfanon ending in three streamers. The lance is borne leaning forwards, not backwards, as in the preceding Seals. The shield has a projecting spike in its front, and is held in a perpendicular position in front of the king's body, which is partly hidden by it. The guige is very distinctly shown passing round the king's neck. One half of the front of the shield is shown; but no lion or other charge is represented upon it, although it is said that this sovereign obtained the appellation of "the Lion" from his having borne a lion upon his shield. The king is riding in a more upright position than that of any preceding king, as shown by their Seals. His foot, which is spurred, is firmly placed in a stirrup heel downwards. The horse has a bridle, and wears a pectoral ornamented with small studs and a saddle. From underneath the horse is seen the sheath of a sword hanging from the king's left. The mane is very plentiful; the tail long, in four stiff pieces. The legend is broken into by the helmet and spear of the king and by the hoofs and tail of the horse.

Legend: WILLELMVS DEO / RECTORE REX / SCOTTORVM.

No. 11. *Alexander II*, 1214-1249 (3.5 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, somewhat similar to No. 6; but the body-garment is much fuller, and the sleeves extend to the wrists and ankles. The garment is drawn in round the waist by a girdle. The mantle does not meet under the throat, but only just comes round the top of the shoulders, and must have been fastened by cords, which, however, do not show in the surviving impressions. On the king's right the mantle is brought round under his right arm about the waist, and is thrown across the right and left knees; on the king's left the mantle partly lies upon and then falls over the back of the cushioned seat. The covering on the head is very small. In the king's right hand is a deeply-grooved sword, held in an oblique position, extending into the band of the Seal. In his left hand is an orb, beyond which the forefingers appear stretching straight out. The orb bears a long stem inclining inwards, upon which are two knobs, and at the end of which is a cross.

The throne is ornamented in front, and bears a cushion with diapered work thereon. The ground on which the king's feet rest is ornamented by a diagonal pattern. On the field of the Seal, on each side of the throne, is a plant with many branches, and at the extremities of each branch is some foliage.

Legend : ✠ ALEXANDER DEO RECTORE REX SCOTTORVM.

No. 12. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, pacing to the right. The king wears a helmet, which is a great casque enclosing the whole head, and is flat on the top, and bears an aventail over the face. He is clothed in mail from head to foot. Over the armour he wears a long flowing surcoat drawn in round his waist by a double cord, and flowing from his knee to the rear. In his right hand he carries a deeply-grooved sword. The front of his body is covered by a shield, charged with a lion rampant. The guige of the shield passes over the king's right shoulder. The spur is a lance-head single point. The horse is bridled, and has an ornamented pectoral, from which hang five pendants. The saddle, which is well formed, has a high cantle for the support of the rider. On the saddle-cloth behind the king is a lion rampant to the sinister. The horse has a good flowing tail.

Legend ; ✠ ALEXANDER D/E/O RECTORE/ REX SCOTTORV/M.

No. 13. *Alexander III*, 1249-1286 (4 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, crowned, wearing a loose garment, as in Seal No. 11, but with the sleeves extending only just below the elbows, where they are puffed. From the left shoulder hangs the mantle, passing in front over the left side and coming from behind the right hand over the right and left knees. The king holds in his right hand a long sceptre foliated at the top. His left hand holds the cords of his mantle. The king has long curled hair, and wears a moustache. The king's feet rest upon the necks of two animals (said to be lizards). Their heads are both turned inwards. The throne has a richly-carved back, with four fleur-de-lis finials, and is furnished with a cushion. The field of the Seal is powdered with slipped trefoils.

Legend : ALEXANDER DEO RECTORE REX SCOTTORVM.

No. 14. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right, clad in a hauberk of mail covered by a surcoat. The helmet is grated in front, and has a horizontal slit for the sight above the grating, is flat at the top, and ensigned with a fan crest. In his right hand the king bears a deeply-grooved sword in an almost perpendicular position. The front of the body is covered by a bowed shield charged with a lion rampant. The horse for the first time wears a caparison. On its head, beside the bridle, it bears a fan crest. The caparison covers the hind-quarters of the horse, so that the tail is completely covered. Both in front and to the rear of the king the caparison is charged with a lion rampant to the sinister, within a double tressure flory counterflory. The field is powdered with slipped trefoils. The legend is enclosed by a circle of beads both inside and outside.

Legend: ✠ ALEXANDER / DEO RECTORE REX / SCOTTORVM.

This Seal bears a strong resemblance to that of Henry III of England, second Seal.

No. 15. *The Guardians of Scotland after the Death of Alexander III, 1286-1292* (3.75 in. diam.).—A Norman-shaped shield charged with a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counterflory as the royal arms of Scotland. The shield is raised in elegant relief from the field of the Seal, which is powdered with trefoils.

Legend: ✠ SIGILLVM SCOTIE [DEPVATVM RE]GIMINI REGNI.

No. 16. *Counterseal*.—St. Andrew, habited, tied to his cross; a halo surrounding the head of the saint. The field of the Seal is powdered with slipped trefoils.

Legend: ✠ ANDREA SCOTI[s DVX ESTO] CONPATRIOTIS.

No. 17. *Edward I (of England), 1296-1306* (3.5 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, crowned, bearing in his right hand a very long sceptre with a foliated top; the left hand brought into the centre of his body. His feet rest upon two small lions, each facing inwards; the lions have very long tails. The robes of the king appear similar to those of Alexander III, No. 13; but they are too indistinct to be accurately described. The throne is richly

carved, and has a back with four pinnacles somewhat similar to that of No. 13, and is furnished with a cushion.

Legend: ✠ SIGILLVM EDWARDI DEI GRATIA RE[GIS ANG]LIE DÑI HIBERNI/E.

No. 18. *Counterseal*.—A heater-shaped shield charged with three lions passant guardant in pale (the royal arms of England).

Legend: ✠ ET DUCIS AQUITANIE, AD REGIMEN REGNI SCOCIE DEPUTATUM.

No. 19. *John Balliol, First Seal*, 1292-1296 (4 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, crowned, robed, as in the Seal of Alexander III, No. 13, holding in the right hand a long sceptre terminating at the top in foliated work; his left hand is placed upon the centre of his chest, and with the forefinger he is holding down the cord of his mantle. The throne is richly carved, and has a back, the four pinnacles of which are crocketed, and is furnished with a cushion. On the field of the Seal, to the king's right, is a shield charged with an orle (the arms of Balliol). On the king's left is another shield, which is charged with a lion rampant. Floriated scroll-work is placed between all the words in the legend.

Legend: ✠ JOHANNES DEI GRACIA REX SCTOTORVM.

No. 20. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right, clothed in chain-mail, with hauberk covered by surcoat. His helmet, which is turned three-quarters to the front, is grated over the face, and has a slit for sight, and is crowned. In his right hand the king carries a sword in an oblique position. The front of his body is covered by a shield charged with the royal arms of Scotland. The horse is almost covered by a caparison charged both over the fore and hind quarters with the royal arms of Scotland reversed. In the legend fleurs-de-lis are inserted between the words "Johannes, Dei, Gracia, Rex".

Legend: JOHANNES DE/I GRACIA REX :: / SCOTTORVM.

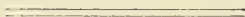
No. 21. *John Balliol, Second Seal*.—A mere fragment of a Seal, which appears to have been when entire about 3.5 in. diam. The Seal cannot be fully described, as only a small piece of it now remains. It appears to have borne a king enthroned, wearing a robe reaching



to his ankles, embroidered with the royal arms of Scotland. The king's arms appear to turn outwards at the elbows. The throne is of a new shape, and appears to be made of wood or metal, in poles or rods, terminating on each side in two dogs' heads, supported by some thin legs ending in carving representing either dog's feet or eagle's claws. The field of the Seal is covered by a diaper consisting of diagonal lines enclosing small quatrefoils. The band holding the legend is separated from the rest of the Seal by a rope border.

Legend: .....EI GRA' CIA REG.....

*(To be continued.)*



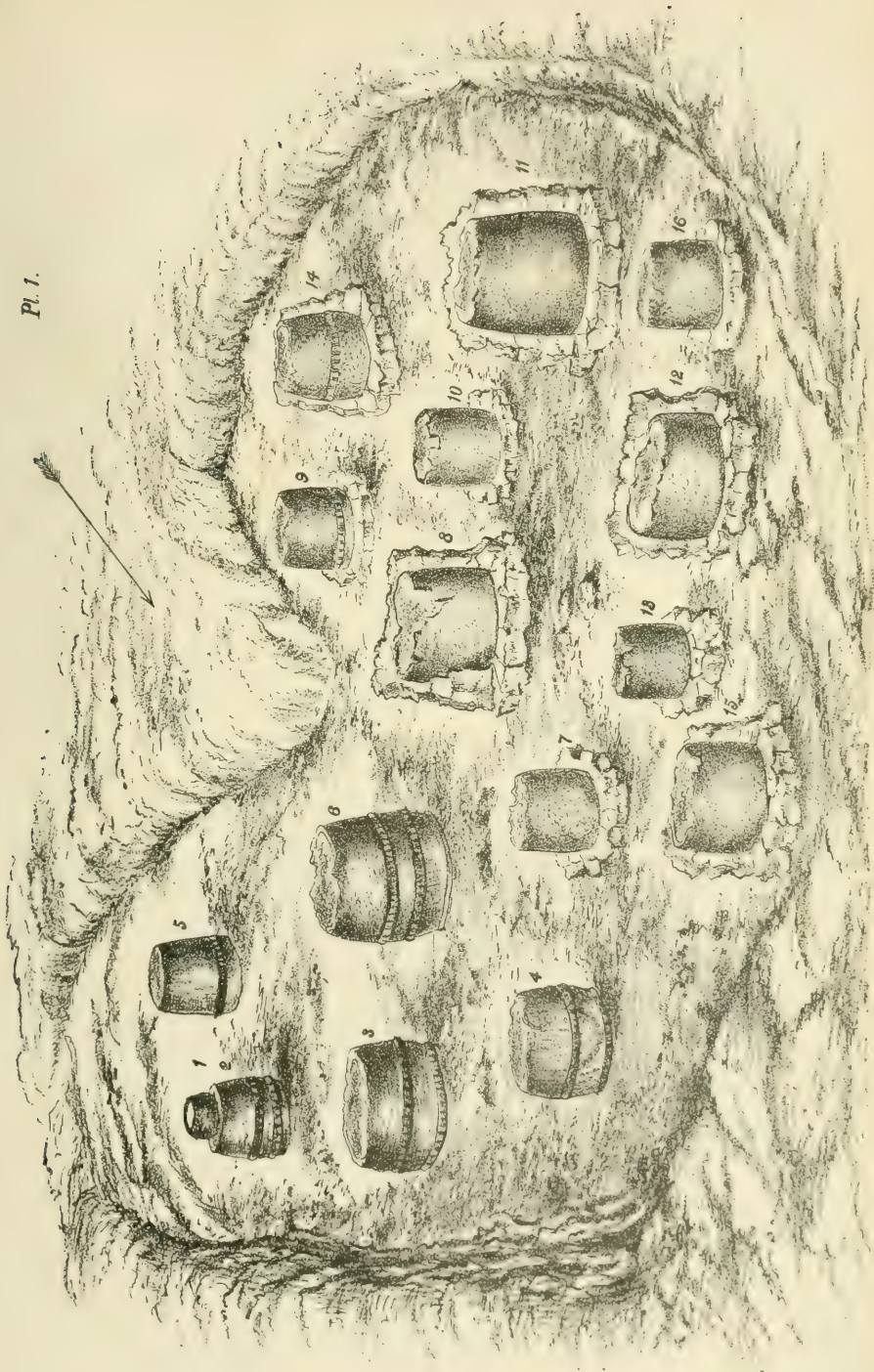
## EARLY BRITISH CEMETERY FOUND AT DUMMER, HANTS.

BY JOSEPH STEVENS, ESQ., M.R.C.P.L.

(Read 21 Nov. 1888.)

THERE are several points in connection with the burial-place lately explored at Dummer which tend to render it a discovery of considerable archæological interest. Its situation in regard to Silchester (the ancient *Calleva*) and to the Roman thoroughfare, formerly most likely a British trackway, which traverses the district on its route to an equally important British fortress, *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester), the chief city of the Belgæ. Its surroundings, in the shape of occasional barrows, earthworks, and flint implements of the rudest type, which are found scattered on the hills running westward, the uniform rudeness of the pottery, and the place having been used for general and not special burial purposes, convey the impression that it was the centre of a rude although probably scattered people at an early date.

The field where the vessels are found bears the title of "Middle Down" on the tithe map, implying that at some period it was not under cultivation. It lies immediately south of Dummer Clump, a conspicuous landmark standing at about six miles south-west of Basingstoke. The elevation is, according to the 6-in. Ordnance Map, 655.8 ft. above sea-level; and the "diggings" lie at about 500 yards from the Clump, and 25 yards north-west of Nutley Copse. The land from this point slopes in the direction of Nutley and the Preston Candover valley, the general drainage being in the line of the Itchen, although immediately below lies Axford, whose title implies that at some time it must have carried water. The sub-soil, at all events that in which the urns lie buried, is a bed of coarse, reddish-yellow clay mingled with flints, some of which are of considerable size; and the bed has evidently been formed at the expense of the tertiary clay, which must formerly have covered the hill. This clay







has been redeposited in pot-holes and gullies formed by solution of the chalk, and mingling with the chalk-flints has given the deposit the characteristic name of "clay-with-flints". These beds evidently cover no great area, as in places near the chalk comes quite close to the surface, implying that although primæval forest most likely covered the deep clays in early times, the lighter portions of the soil probably were down, or comparatively open spaces habitable by a pastoral people.

The clay of the bed in which the vessels are found is not merely the medium for their reception, but is evidently the material from which the urns have been shaped, as it closely corresponds to the clay of the vessels. The land is part of the estate of Sir Nelson Rycroft, Bart., whose residence, Kempshott Park, is close by; and it is from the interest taken in the work by Sir Nelson Rycroft, in furnishing labour, and from the diligent superintendence of the proceedings by Dr. S. Andrews of Basingstoke, that we are indebted for what has been done up to the present date.

As the opportunity was kindly furnished me of being present during the greater part of the investigations, I have thought it better to make extracts from the notes taken as the work proceeded, without detailing the dimensions and other minute particulars of the urns, which has been done in a tabulated form.

It appears that on August 9th a shepherd, while pitching hurdles, came on a large table-flint, about 3 inches in thickness, at about 1 foot below the surface. Its removal disclosed some pottery, which on being carefully taken from the ground on the following day (August 10th) was found to consist of two vessels, both being broken. The upper one had evidently sunk down into the under one, it having apparently rested on it. (Plate 1, figs. 1, 2.) Writing of this discovery in the *The Hampshire Chronicle* of date Aug. 15th, Sir Nelson Rycroft describes it as "a small vase of baked pottery about 5 inches in diameter, smooth inside and out, without pattern. The vase rested on a larger one, so broken that it is difficult to estimate its size. This is of very coarse pottery either very slightly baked or sun-dried, and ornamented with two bands not unlike the Norman dog-tooth, made apparently

with a pointed stick. With these were found some fifty pieces of bone, some of which were pronounced by Dr. S. Andrews of Basingstoke, who examined them with me, to be certainly human.....With these bones were burnt earth and flints, and sun-dried as well as ordinary clay. While removing these a third vase was found about 3 feet off. This is of very coarse pottery also, sun-dried or very slightly baked, about 11 inches high and 15 inches diameter, with one band of ornament like the one already described.....The whole was full of earth; that towards the outside being the natural clay, while the centre was filled with perfectly black loam, as if from decayed animal or vegetable matter. Interspersed with both clay and mould were burnt flints and pieces of burnt bone."

The smaller squat vessel here described (fig. 1) appears to be a food-vessel. It is the only one as yet discovered, and the material composing it is finer. It is also darker in colour, and the clay contains a quantity of apparently washed flint grit, and there are three nipple-like bosses on its swell. These vessels, and No. 5 on the Plate, are the only ones which had not been injured by the plough, the first found probably being protected by their flint cover.

The whole of the urns, with the exception of the small food-vessel, had been inverted, and, excepting those just named, their bases had been ploughed off; and it is conjectured from their depth under the soil that the chief mischief was due to steam ploughing about twenty years ago. It should be stated that the urns appear to extend indefinitely beneath the soil, and that there is no elevation of the land or sign of a tumulus having occupied the site; nor are there any traces of a bank or ditch surrounding it to indicate the presence of buried remains of any kind.

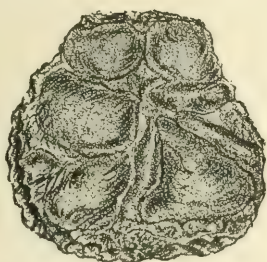
The work was continued on August 24th, when one vessel was removed. (Pl. 1, fig. 4.) It was somewhat intermediate in size, and its colour is of a redder tint, probably from being better fired. In the greater number of cases it was necessary to remove the urns with their contents, the pottery, from the dampness of the soil, and lying so near the surface, having become saturated and



1



3



2



4



5



6

NEOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS. (*Half size.*)





rotten. In all instances when this was done the urns were bandaged with matting bound with tar-twine. They were then removed to Kempshott House. Their not being emptied prevented complete examination of their contents. In this case, however, the urn was removed in as large fragments as possible, in order for restoration. It lay at about 3 feet north-west of urn 3, and its interior was filled with clay containing a few fire-splintered flints and one large flint stone. There was no discoloration of the clay with fire, or any indication that it had contained incinerated remains. It is the most elaborately decorated urn of the series. On its sides are fine impressions apparently of a small finger-point and its nail. There are the usual rim and collar indentations, and it bears an imitation handle so shallow as to have been useless for lifting.

While the work was proceeding I made an examination of the adjacent ground, when at about 12 feet from the working site lay a remarkable flint celt. It is completely although coarsely wrought, its dimensions being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. (Pl. 2, fig. 1), and although neolithic is of palæolithic form. Alongside of Nutley Copse I picked up a hammer-stone, some flakes, and a core, and later found a scraper (Pl. 2, fig. 2), lying close to the trench. These implements correspond in character to some found by me around Ellisfield Camp in 1884, when inspecting that earthwork in company with Dr. Andrews and Mr. Charles Cooksey. (Pl. 2, figs. 3, 4.) This small fortress lies at about a mile and a half from the diggings, in a straight line. It is squarish in form, and has an outer and inner vallum, and ditch between, and is stated as deriving its name from Ælla the Saxon (Ælla's Field), from that chief having, it is believed, occupied it on his route by Basingstoke, in 490, to attack the Romano-British camp at Silchester.

On Aug. 31st two urns were dug out. At my suggestion a trench, about 2 feet in width, was carried round the already excavated site, when very near where urn 4 had stood we came on a patch of incinerated material, which was made up of blackened earth, charcoal-ashes, splinters of flint, and particles of bone, but which were so degraded and pasty as not to be identifiable as human.

Conducting the trench round to the south side, urn No. 5 was found. (Pl. 1, fig. 5.) It was entire, and turned out to be one of the smaller 9 in. vessels. It bore the characteristic nipples, and was full of blackened earth saturated with bony material in a pasty condition, which was not removed.

About 3 ft. from where No. 3 had stood, and on the north-west of No. 5, lay the large vessel, No. 6. (Pl. 1, fig. 6.) On its circumference were two slightly raised fillets punched with irregular circular markings, conveying the impression that they had been made with the end of a hollow stick. It also was bandaged and removed with its contents. It stood in stiff clay, in places blackened, and containing crackled flints; and from near its rim, in the clay of the hole, I found a large trimmed flake (Pl. 2, fig. 5); and in the removed clay I picked out the large triangular flake (Pl. 2, fig. 6).

We had a complete field-day on September 21st, no fewer than five vessels being removed (Pl. 1, figs. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11), and two others (Pl. 1, figs. 12, 13), which were left for future removal. On this occasion, in addition to Dr. Andrews, we had the active co-operation of the Revs. Hugh E. Rycroft and Parker, the former being a son of Sir Nelson Rycroft, who was himself generally present during the excavations, and by whom we were on all occasions most hospitably entertained. Beyond the urns no relics of any importance were discovered. Some flints splintered with fire, and a lump of iron pyrites, found near the base of urn 9; and pockets of black earth, scraps of charcoal, and bony material thoroughly decayed, lay near urns 9 and 11. The vessels were all removed with their contents; but the earth in 7, 9, and 10 was evidently largely charged with ashes and scraps of bone. The vessels were quite plain, but bearing in most instances the small bosses similar to those on the urns already described. A peculiarity was observed for the first time in clearing the clay from around these pots, viz., that the whole of them rested, inverted, on small platforms of pitching, made up of rude flints, amalgamated with clay of the hole; and 8, 11, 14, and two others which were dug out later (Pl. 1, figs. 12, 15) were enclosed in cists of flint-stones and

clay, as represented on the plate, where the fronts of the cells have been removed in order to exhibit the vessels as they stood. Some of the urns were so dilapidated and rotten that it is hardly likely they will be rendered presentable.

The last exploration was made on October 5th, when Mr. Shore, F.G.S., of the Hartley Institution, Southampton, was present, when three vessels were removed, and all that remained of urn 12. It had been left in the ground since the last operations, and had been tampered with by visitors. The fresh removals were similar to those already dug out; and they are numbered on the plate as 14, 15, and 16. They rested on small platforms of pitching; and 12, 14, and 15 were enclosed in flint cells, after the manner of those already described. A large patch of blackened material, consisting of earth, bony matter, and ashes lay south of urn 14; and we found portions of an urn among the clay, which it was conjectured had been ploughed off the base of one of the vessels. The urns were bandaged before removal; and from the vessel 14, the earth of which was blackened, and apparently charged with bony material, Mr. Shore took a specimen for analysis. Although the analysis is not yet finished,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shore writes that "the carbonaceous matter is 16.81 per cent. of the sample. The substance also contains *phosphate of calcium* and *phosphate of iron*, with some other substances in smaller quantities; but the amount of these phosphates is not yet quite determined". These phosphates sufficiently show that animal matter, probably human, was present.

As the investigations ended for the present on October 5th, Sir Nelson Rycroft directed that a portion of the soil surrounding the hole should not be ploughed, in order that there should be no further injury to any vessels yet remaining in the earth. It was found that the dimensions of the space from which the urns had been removed embraced 15 ft. 6 in. from north to south; 27 ft. from east to west; the circumference being 70 ft.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Shore has since stated the analysis as carbonaceous matter, 16.81 per cent., silica and insoluble matter as 70.51, and phosphate of iron, lime, and other salts, as 12.7 per cent.



The following table shows the dimensions of the sixteen urns; but the heights convey but an imperfect impression of the vessels when whole, as their bases are gone. Their thickness is mostly three-eighths of an inch, the smaller food-vessel being one-sixth of an inch. The dimensions are given in inches:—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Diameter . . .	4	9	14	13	9	17	8	13	9	9	15	14	„	10	12	9
Height . . .	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	„	11	10	7	13	11	14	11	10	„	10	„	10	7	11
Circumference (greatest) .	14	„	52	48	„	51	28	48	29	27	48	„	„	34	40	30
Depth in earth	6	„	6	8	6	8	8	8	7	8	6	7	„	7	7	8

In summarising from the facts detailed, there appears nothing except the cists to mark any difference in grade in the occupants of the vessels. The urns are rendered in perspective on the plate; but the grouping fairly represents their relative position in the ground. In their form and character there is great uniformity, implying that they are of one period and one tribe. They are all rudely outlined, and extremely coarse, being evidently hand-manufactured and imperfectly baked, the outcome, in short, of an industry in which the potter's wheel and the kiln had no part. In colour they are reddish-brown more or less tinged with yellow, and the clay of their composition is largely mingled with coarse flint-grit. The ornamentation is of the rudest, and is in some cases apparently the work of small finger-points, most likely those of women, assisted with the simplest tools. The large patches of ashes observed in places without urns might have been thrown in from the *ustrinum* when the urns were covered up, or they might be the cremated remains of children buried without vessels. The urns may be arranged in three groups, viz.: the larger forms, as 3, 6, 11; somewhat intermediate, represented by 4, 8, 15; and smaller, about 9 in. urns, as 5, 7, 9, 10. It is worth the inquiry, could the largest forms have been used for men, the smaller for children, and those enclosed in cells have been occupied by the ashes of persons of somewhat higher position? They could hardly have contained the ashes of females, as women reckon for little among savages or semi-civilised people.



The Dummer vessels are less contracted at the mouth, and their rims are less bulky and overhanging at the collar than is usual in large coarse urns. In some respects they resemble those found by the late Mr. C. Warne in Dorsetshire,<sup>1</sup> which are now in the Brighton Museum. The fillets or hoops around some of the Hampshire specimens, bearing the irregularly circular impressions, are similar to the bands on the Dorset pottery. A southern peculiarity appears to be the imitation handle, an art introduction which is not met with, according to Mr. Greenwell,<sup>2</sup> in the north of England.

In reference to discoveries which may tend to throw light on the interments at Dummer, I can find no record of a cemetery having been found which can be identified with it, although there are notices of several which bear a sufficiently general resemblance. Thus, Messrs. Akerman<sup>3</sup> and Stone describe a burial-place which they explored at Stanlake, Oxon, in October 1857. The site was trenched, and in one part of the entrenchment the *ustrinum* was found. The vessels were of a similar rude character to those of Dummer. Some were found upright, others inverted, and, as in the Dummer interments, they rested on flint stones or pieces of rock. They were also very much decayed. Occasional cavities were seen containing calcined bones without vessels of any kind; and there were cavities present prepared for the reception of vessels. The only relics discovered were an arrow-head of flint, which had been in the fire, and which was found with burnt bones in an inverted urn. One plain bronze ring also was found with charred human bones. From one urn were taken the calcined bones of a child, with burnt bones of a kid or lamb. Here we find the interments of a variety of one people; and Mr. Akerman came to the conclusion that it was a burial-place for the use of the poorer classes, where the bodies were incinerated, and deposited in rude clay vessels without accompanying tumuli.

Rev. Canon Greenwell cites cases of successive interments in Gloucestershire among the long-skulled (*dolicho-*

<sup>1</sup> See figures to *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*.

<sup>2</sup> *British Barrows*, Greenwell, pp. 68-69.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii.

*cephali*) people of the stone and bone-implement period, but they were underneath barrows.<sup>1</sup>

The *Journal of the British Archæological Association* of September 1882 contains a short account of two cists opened by Mr. C. Cooksey, on the west wall of the Loddon valley at Basingstoke. Flint arrow-heads of finished make were found on the hill close by. The urns lay in two large cells cut in the chalk; and some of the vessels were surrounded with flint stones. The pottery in these cases was thinner, finer, and better burnt, and must be placed at a considerably later date than that found at Dummer.

Sepulchralia more characteristic of the necropolis at Dummer are recorded by Mr. Charles Warne<sup>2</sup> as occurring on Launceston Down and at Rimbury, near the hill-fortress of Charlbury. With regard to the former it appears that, during the trenching of the ground for planting trees, the labourers came on a bed of flints, about six inches under the soil, and covering a space of twelve feet in diameter, and from twelve to eighteen inches in depth; the flints being removed, a stratum of dark unctuous mould appeared, mingled with charcoal-ashes, scraps of bone, and fragments of coarse pottery; while below these lay a series of cists cut in the chalk, which contained burnt bones and ashes. Other burial-places of a similar kind occurred within 150 yards, all presenting a similar arrangement, and it was inferred that these contained the burnt remains of the lower class of people, the tumuli of the same district being appropriated to people of superior grade. The Rimbury cemetery differs from this, in the fact that underneath the layer of urns were found chalk cists containing unburnt remains. About six inches under the soil were found the pots, greatly damaged from their proximity to the surface. As many as one hundred were removed: their mouths were upwards, and were covered with thin flat stones. Not a particle of metal rewarded research, the only sign of human handiwork being one flint arrow-head, and that was not with the interments, but lying adjacent to them.

<sup>1</sup> *British Barrows*, Greenwell, p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, pp. 60-61.

Within a radius of two miles from the digging site at Dummer four tumuli exist ; these are most likely of the Bronze Period. But whether the cemetery contains the ashes of the lower class of a people, of which the tumuli contain the chiefs, it is impossible with our present knowledge to determine. Along the edge of Nutley Copse, immediately south-west of the cemetery, extends an embankment, which might form part of an earthwork ; but its true character cannot be determined till the wood is cut. And at the south end of the copse some pits are present, which are denominated “chalk-pits” on the Ordnance Map. There are, further, some remarkable pits or depressions in the ground in the neighbourhood of the excavations, which have received the singular title of “Gobley-holes”, in which burnt earth and ashes have been observed, and which it has been conjectured might be pit-dwellings of the period of the cemetery. These testify, whether connected or not with the interments, that the district has been one of occupation by early settlers. With regard to what may be inferred from the contents of the necropolis, it is quite conformable to our experience of art of a later date that there might be some tribal difference in vessels of one period from different localities ; nevertheless, the Dummer ware is so coarse in texture and simple in ornamentation, as to be inferior to the pottery generally of the Bronze Age. The flint implements found around the burial-site correspond in character to the large coarse flakes found in the clay with the vessels ; and their rudeness implies that they could hardly be the work of a people advanced to the use of metal. At the same time, the bodies being cremated, points to the interments as of the round-skulled people of the Bronze Age—an early Celtic tribe, who used the spot as the common receptacle of those among their poorer orders who could afford the luxury of an interment-urn. The burial-site might possibly appertain to the Segontiaci, a British tribe that it is thought occupied Silchester and the surrounding district. To whatever period it may be assigned, it must have been a time when roughly-chipped stone implements were employed, and when the potter’s art was of the rudest.

Imagination might picture scenes of wailing and wild disorder at these distant cremation-burials, when sacrificial offerings to the solar deity might have taken part ; but the object here is to state facts.

The placing interments near water-sources has met with learned comment as embracing a symbol;<sup>1</sup> but which may, perhaps, as easily find a solution in the fact that as springs take their origin in hills, hill-dwellers could not conveniently bury their dead along the hills without placing them in proximity to springs. And it is certain that in elevated districts the people would have elected to live as near water as possible ; and when springs were not accessible, they most likely resorted to dew-ponds, an easy method where clay was present, as at Dummer.

<sup>1</sup> "Uniformity of Design in the Works of the Earliest Settlers in Britain," *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, March 1873, pp. 27-36, J. S. Phené, F.S.A.



## MERLIN AND THE MERLINIAN POEMS.

## PART I.—MERLIN.

BY JOHN VEITCH, ESQ., LL.D., PROFESSOR OF LOGIC AND RHETORIC,  
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

(*Read at the Glasgow Congress, 29 Aug. 1888.*)

ONE of the most obscure periods of British history, as regards details, is the epoch from 410—the date of the Roman evacuation of Britain—to the close of the sixth century. During these 200 years there pass before us certain figures, dim and shadowy enough in some respects, yet typical of the historical, social, and racial forces at work ; born of the past, and actively shaping the course of the future nationality and the story of the Island in which we live. The men of this epoch were, moreover, destined to influence not less, and in a very characteristic way, the feeling and the imagination of subsequent generations in the materials of its poetry and romance. The wail over a broken nationality, the mourning over beloved dead lost in a patriotic fight, the melancholy that broods over cairn and lonely mound on our moorlands, and the restful peace that touches the heart at the desolate caer on the windy hill,—all this pathos and tenderness in our literature had its first, its best, its truest nourishment in the life and death of the men in those fifth and sixth centuries. And thus we are linked to them by the ties not so much of kinship as of our ever living and common human emotions. While the details of those times are obscure, we may, however, take three great facts in the epoch as standing out clearly enough :—

(1.) There is the aggression of the Teutons and the pressing of the Celts westwards to the country now known as Devon, Cornwall, Wales, the English Lake District, and a stretch of land northwards along a certain line to the rock Alcluith, or Dunbarton.

(2.) There is the splitting up even of this retreat of the Celts by the battle of Deorham, in 580, gained by

Ceawlin. The result of this battle was the severance of the Celts south of the Severn from those of the north,—briefly, Cornwall from Wales.

(3.) There is the second severance of the Celts by the battle of Chester, in 617, when they were defeated by Athelfrith, King of Northumbria. There thus arose the division of the Cymri south of the Dee from those of the north—Cumbria and Strathclyde. The uniformity of the Cymric line of power was thus broken, and its continuance, as more than a series of isolated states, rendered impossible. The history of the period, if it could be written, would show a constant struggle between the disintegrated Celts and the gradually consolidating Teutons.

The story, the patriotism, the myth, and the poetry of this period are associated chiefly with the names of Vortigern, Aurelius Ambrosianus, Myrdin Emrys or Merlin Ambrosius, Uthur Pendragon, Arthur, and Merlinus Caledonius, known also as Silvestris, or the Wylt. Since those early centuries, the greatest, most wide-spread historic interest has centred round the names of Arthur and Merlin.

The name of special interest to us at present is that of Merlin,—a very shadowy figure, I admit; but still, I believe, the name of a person, or rather persons, one at least of whom has a certain sufficiently marked historical relief. Our question here is, Who and what was he? Were there more than one of the name? If he was historical, what was his work, and what his relation to the circumstances of the times? Was he an actor in in them, or did he enact the often more powerful part of inspiring with motive and impulse the actors of his age?

Now all through those years from the time of Vortigern and Aurelius Ambrosianus down to a point beyond the burning of Uriconium—from shortly after 410 to 583—we have floating before us the *name Merlin*. Merlin is associated with Vortigern; he is his *vates*, he stands in the same relation to Aurelius Ambrosianus, he is friend of Uthur Pendragon, and presides over the birth of Arthur. Still later he is the friend and associate of Gwenddoleu, who fell at the great and decisive battle of Ardderyd in 573. Then, even, he is referred to as having

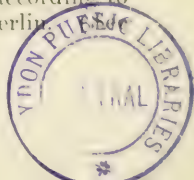
been met by Kentigern on the wilds of Drummelzier, on the Tweed, in the wood of Caledon. He is apparently referred to, under the name of Laloicen, as being present at the court of Rydderch Hael, the King of Strathclyde, who died in the same year as Kentigern, which was either in 603 or 614.<sup>1</sup>

I see no reason whatever for supposing that the name Merlin did not refer to a real person or persons more than that the other names of the time were purely fictitious, even such as Ninian, Kentigern, or Columba. Direct evidence of a personality corresponding to the name will appear as we proceed; but I cannot concur in the opinion that there was but one person of the name, and that the same man who was contemporary with Aurelius Ambrosianus was also present at the battle of Ardderyd in 573. This, however, is the opinion of the Count Hersart de la Villemarqué in his very interesting book on *Myrddhin or Merlin*. But apart from other considerations, this seems to me impossible on the ground of the dates alone. Aurelius Ambrosianus comes into prominence as the successor of Vortigern about 457, and disappears in 465. If the Merlin of Ardderyd had been his contemporary, he must have been a great deal more than a hundred years old at the date of the battle; and yet we know that he survived this contest for many years. In the poem of the *Avalenau*, speaking of himself he says:—

“Ten years and forty, as the toy of lawless ones,  
Have I been wandering in gloom among sprites.”

Making allowance for poetical exaggeration, it is quite clear that the Merlin who was present at Ardderyd, and who wrote these lines, could not have been the Myrdin or Merlin the bard, soothsayer, and enchanter, of Ambrosianus; or, for the same reason, of Vortigern himself. Nay, I go further, and say that he could not have been the original of that enchanter Merlin who was the ally of Uthur Pendragon, and who is credited with presiding

<sup>1</sup> In the Life of Kentigern the Saint is said to have met at the court of Rydderch Hael one named Laloicen, who prophesied, “In curia ejus quidam homo fatuus vocabulo *Laloicen*.” This Laloicen, according to the *Scoto-Chronicon*, was Myrdin Wylt, the Caledonian Merlin. Price in Skene, ii, p. 424.)



over the birth of Arthur, and with the wondrous achievements of necromancy associated with this Prince and his exploits. A man who died in 623 or later, as appears from the *Avallenau*, could not be born in 470 or 480, as Villemarqué supposes. This date, I may observe, is too late for his connection with Aurelius Ambrosianus, and it is too early for the man who survived to the close of the sixth century. It follows either that the true Merlin and his exploits are antedated, or that there were two Merlins. The latter, I believe, is the true supposition; and the mythical attributes of the earlier Merlin have been assigned to the latter, while a third wholly legendary Merlin arose in the imagination of the romancers of the eleventh century.

That the Merlin of Ambrosianus and Vortigern was really distinct from the second Merlin is further proved by the circumstances of name and birth. The first Merlin, the *vates* of *Ambrosianus*, is called *Myrdyn Emrys* or *Merlinus Ambrosius*; the second is named by the Welsh *Merlinus Caledonius*, *Silvestris*, *Wylt*, or *the Wild*; and in the *Polychronicon* these are regarded as wholly distinct persons. Myrdin Emrys is born of a nun or vestal virgin and an *incubus* or spirit of the air. He is a god or devil incarnate. Belief in relations of this sort was fixed in the popular mind of the time, and it is countenanced by St. Augustine: indeed, the word *Myrdin* (or Merlin) is said to indicate this descent. According to Mr. Nash it is originally *Mab-leian*, *Mac-leian*, *Mab-merchleian*. This was Latinised as *Merlinus*, *Mellinus*, *Merclinus*.<sup>1</sup> Villemarqué takes the same view as to the origin of the name, but runs it back to the classical *Marsus*. Now Merlin Caledonius had no such origin. He was clearly regarded as the son of Madog Morvryn, who was descended from the great Cymric family founded by Coel Godebawc, and was nearly related to the historical and famous Urien Reged. Merlin had, moreover, a twin-sister, Gwendydd, who is constantly associated with him in his life, sufferings, and poetry. This by itself is sufficient to mark him off from Merlin Ambrosius.

If this be so, it follows that the second Merlin, or Merlinus Caledonius, is the author or reputed author of the

<sup>1</sup> *Introd. to Merlin*, p. ix.



poems attributed to the person of the name, as this author was undoubtedly present at the battle of Ardderydd, was the friend of Gwenddoleu who fell there, knew Rydderch Hael the King of Strathclyde, met Kentigern, and generally was identified with the civil life of the period towards the close of the sixth century. In this case he is brought very close to us as a personage who lived within the bounds of the first known historical kingdom in the valleys of the Clyde and Upper Tweeddale,—a haunter, in fact, of the *Coed Celydon* or *Wood of Caledon*.

One word in passing regarding the first Merlin or Myrdin Emrys. He has been confounded with the King Aurelius Ambrosianus; but it is clear that he was quite a distinct person. The parentage of Aurelius Ambrosianus is obscure, but it would seem that he was of Roman descent; in fact, a Romanised Briton, and his mother probably a vestal virgin. Hence there arose regarding his birth, as respecting that of Myrdin Emrys, the notion that he too was born of a spirit of the air, which seems to have been the mode accepted at the time of accounting for certain irregularities. The Merlin of Ambrosius was also, and probably first of all, the *vates* of Vortigern. When Vortigern practically deserted the national cause, Merlin would seem to have attached himself to Ambrosius, the new leader,—the leader, in fact, of the Romanised Britons who dwelt mainly in the Roman cities, as yet, in great measure, intact. Vortigern is said to have given to Ambrosius a city on one of the summits of Snowdon; but this is incorrect in point both of the gift itself and its actual locality. It was not a city, but a fort or *dinas* which was given; and it is not situated on a summit of Snowdon, but on an isolated eminence in the valley of Nant Gwynant (the Valley of Waters), on the south side of Snowdon, and about a mile from Beddgelert, and known even now as *Dinas Emrys*, or Fort of Ambrosius.<sup>1</sup> This eminence and fort are traditionally associated with Myrdin Emrys, and the probability is that it was he upon whom the gift was conferred either by Vortigern or Aurelius Ambrosianus. Certainly it was

<sup>1</sup> In the *Polychronicon* the site of the “*Collis Ambrosii*” is erroneously given as at the source of the Conway.

here, according to the legend, that Myrdin Emrys poured forth his prophecies and forebodings as to the future of his country,—

“ Qui sua vaticinia  
Proflavit in Snaudonia”,

while Vortigern sat anxious and brooding by the stream which winds through the valley at the base of the hill. If stretch of lake and rush of stream below, grandeur of rock and peak above, the silence and the shadow that lie in the depths of cloven and precipitous *cwms*,—the voice of the mountain as it sends its waters to the valley in the soft summer-tide, or as it swells in winter when the wind assails its changeless strength,—could ever touch the heart of man, and link it to the supernatural, this must have been, in an impressionable age, especially the function of the land which nourished the bard and seer of Dinas Emrys.

“ Pierce then the heavens, thou hill of streams,  
And make the snows thy crest !  
The sunlight of immortal dreams  
Around thee still shall rest !

“ Eryri, temple of the bard,  
And fortress of the free !  
Midst rocks which heroes died to guard,  
Their spirit dwells with thee !”

Mrs. Hemans, *Eryri Wen* [Snowdon].

Merlin Caledonius, then, the bard, was he who was present at the battle of Ardderyd in 573. How this arose is tolerably clear. Maelgwyn Gwynedd (or of Wales) was nominally at least King of all the Cymri of the time. These stretched in an unbroken territory from the estuary of the Severn to the Rock of Dunbarton. The second severance of the kingdom, consequent on the battle of Chester in 617, had not yet been effected. Maelgwyn was Christian, at least in name, and of fine presence, but a coarse sensualist in life. Somehow a pagan or semi-pagan party had grown up in the northern parts of his dominion,—what was known afterwards as Strathclyde. This party had for its chief leader Gwenddoleu, of whom we know little more than his connection with this rising. His friend, prompter, and counsellor in the matter would seem to have been Merlin Caledonius. On

the other side was ranged, as a lieutenant of Maelgwyn, Rydderch Hael, or Rydderch the Liberal, who was then a lord or prince of Strathclyde, and whose original seat seems to have been on the Clyde, at Llanerch, now Lanark.

The result of the conflict on the banks of the Liddel, near Arthuret—where still may be seen a very ancient fortified position—was the complete defeat of the semi-pagan party, the death of Gwenddoleu, and the establishment of the kingdom of Strathclyde under Rydderch Hael. Merlin, said to be thus rendered insane, fled, after the battle, to a retreat in the heart of the wood of Caledon, where now rise from the valley of the Tweed the wild, bare, solitary heights of Drummelzier. His loss of reason was attributed not simply to grief at the result of the battle, but to his having seen in the air, before the close of the struggle, a monster of a terrific order,—

“Silvestris dictus ideo,  
Quod consistens in prælio,  
Monstrum videns in ære,  
Mente cœpit excedere.”

*Polychronicon.*

Here, in the Wood of Caledon, he is said to have survived for many years; then to have met his death at the hands, or rather by the stones and clubs of the servants of Meldred, Prince of the place, who threw the body into the river. The Celtic Orpheus thus met the fate of the ancient Orpheus:—“Contigit ut eodem die a quibusdam pastoribus usque ad mortem lapidatus ac fustigatus casum faceret in mortis articulo, ultra oram Tuedæ fluminis præruptam, prope oppidum Dun Meller.”<sup>1</sup> His grave is still shown under a thorn-tree by the side of the Powsail Burn as it passes the mound on which stands Drummelzier Kirk, though another site, in a field a little to the east of the bank of the burn, is also pointed out as the resting-place of the bard and enchanter.

This, however, is not the only legend of the death of Merlin. The Welsh one of the Triads is that, with nine bards of Britain he went to sea in a ship of glass, and passed away beyond the horizon, disappearing in light,

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Kentigerni*, p. 157; Fordun, *Scoto-Chronicon*, l. iii, c. 31.

never to be seen again,—an extremely likely result of such a venture. Then, again, in Cornwall he is regarded as having been enclosed by the wiles of a woman in

“a craige  
On Cornwall coast.”<sup>1</sup>

Again, he is shut up in an enchanted bower or castle, whose walls, though of air, are to him of adamant; and while the wily woman, his lover, can go in and out to him, he cannot stir. There is difference of opinion, naturally, about the locality of this castle. Some place it in the Forest of Broceliande in Brittany, others set it in Cornwall.

Then, further, old Merlin is lying quietly in a cavern or hall under the Eildons, along with Arthur and his knights, in an enchanted sleep, from which, when it is broken some day by a vigorous bugle-blast, they will emerge to restore the Cymri, and redress the disorders of the world. I am sure we are all agreed that there never was a more fitting time for their reappearance than now.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Scottish Prophecies.* Edinb., 1833.

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## THE WALL OF ANTONINE.

BY DR. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, F.S.A.

(*Read at the Glasgow Congress, 29th August 1888.*)

PYTHEAS of Marseilles was the first voyager who revealed our little island to the inhabitants of Southern Europe. He flourished about the year before Christ 330, and was contemporaneous with Alexander the Great and Aristotle. His discovery seems to have been almost forgotten when Julius Cæsar, in B.C. 55, invaded the land. His imaginary conquest of a region almost beyond the boundaries of existence added to his fame, and helped him in his ambitious career. After Cæsar's second invasion Britain was left alone for nearly a century.

The conquest of Britain began A.D. 44, when, in the reign of Claudius, a Roman army consisting of four legions was landed on our shores. Amongst these troops were Galba, Vespasian, and Titus, all of whom subsequently wore the imperial purple. Altogether the army, with its auxiliaries (according to Dr. Hübner), consisted of 70,000 strong. That this large force, so cleverly officered, made but slow progress in the work of subjection, says much for the valour of our ancestors. The conquests which it did make became, however, the subjects of great rejoicing in Rome.

And here may I be allowed to introduce an extract from the pages of the younger Livy, which though bearing upon the conquest of Britain has little to do with the Antonine Wall? It is a lampoon on the Emperor Claudius, who I suppose had, through his vicious mode of living, become deformed in his latter days. At his death he sought admission into Olympus, with what result Seneca tells us. The passage I am now to read was given to me in its translated form by the late Dr. Howson, Dean of Chester:—

“News is brought to Jupiter that a strange creature is coming, with a bald head which he is perpetually moving, and dragging his right foot on the ground. On being

asked what nation he belongs to, he replies with a confused sound which no one can understand. Certainly he is not a Greek or a Roman, nor does he belong to any other respectable nationality. Then Jupiter orders Hercules, because he had travelled over all the world, and was supposed to be acquainted with every nation, to go and inquire to what section of mankind this person belonged. At first Hercules was frightened when he saw his extraordinary feet and strange manner of walking, and heard his voice, which was hoarse and entangled in its sounds, like that of some sea-monster ; and he began to think that he was certainly face to face with a thirteenth labour. On looking more closely Hercules does think that he is something like a human being, and proceeds to question him."

The result of all is he is denied admission into Olympus, and sent down to earth again in charge of Mercury. The lampoon proceeds :—

"Mercury, going along the Sacred Way, sees a great crowd of people, and asks if it is the funeral of Claudius. It was even so ; and a very grand funeral it was, with all kinds of music, so loud that even Claudius heard. When Claudius saw his funeral then he knew that he was dead. The dirge which was sung was of this kind :

" ' Send forth wailings, pretend to be sorry,  
Fill the Forum with cries,  
For a great man is dead,  
For a great man is dead.

" ' He conquered the Britons  
Beyond the shores of the ocean ;  
The blue-eyed Brigantes he fettered with a chain,  
He fettered with a chain.'

"Claudius was delighted with his own eulogy, and wanted to hear a little more ; but Talthybius, the messenger of the gods, lays hold of him, covers his head so that no one should recognise him as he drags him over the Campus Martius, and near the Tiber sent him down to the regions below."

You will observe the burden of his funeral eulogy was his British expedition.

I pass by the reign of Nero, though in it stirring events occurred in Britain. Amongst others the Britons de-

stroyed many thousands of Roman soldiers and citizens at Camalodunum (Colchester), and nearly cut to pieces the 9th Legion, which was afterwards taken into Scotland. In this reign, too, Boadicea made her bold but unsuccessful attempt to destroy the Roman power.

Early in A.D. 78, Cneius Julius Agricola was sent to Britain by Vespasian. Agricola was not only a successful general but a wise politician. Having subdued his enemies, he taught them the arts of peace; he repressed the extortions of the tax-gatherers, and he taught the people letters and the ways of civilised life. "By degrees", says Tacitus, "the charms of vice gained admission into their hearts. Baths and porticoes and elegant banquets grew into vogue; and the new manners, which in fact served only to sweeten slavery, were by the unsuspecting Britons called the arts of polished humanity."

Unfortunately that portion of the *Annals of Tacitus* which treats of his wars in Scotland is lost. We have his life of Agricola; but as the object of that work was to vindicate the character rather than to give the life of his father-in-law, he omits many of those details which are so valuable to the historian.

In the second year of his sojourn in Britain, Agricola seems to have advanced as far as the river Tyne, and to have placed forts upon the isthmus between that river and the Solway Firth. In his third campaign he reached the Tay. His fourth campaign was spent in securing the country which he had overrun but had not conquered; "and here", says Tacitus in his *Agricola*, "if the spirit of the troops and the glory of the Roman name had been capable of suffering any limits, there was in Britain itself a convenient spot where the boundary of the empire might have been fixed. The place for that purpose was where the waters of the Glota and Bodotria (Clyde and Forth) are hindered from joining by a narrow neck of land which was then guarded by a chain of forts." Here we have the exact spot,—the narrow neck of land on which the Antonine Wall was afterwards built.

We need not follow the exploits of Agricola further. After the great victory which he gained at the Mons Granpius (where that was is a disputed point) he advanced to the north of Scotland, and ascertained the

insular character of Britain. It is said that with an envious eye he looked from some of the heights in the west of Scotland upon Ireland, and asked for an additional legion that he might subdue that country also; but Domitian, envious of the fame of his general, refused his request. He soon resigned his office, and returned to Rome, where eight years afterwards, while yet in the prime of life, he died, feared and frowned upon by the court.

Trajan was too much occupied with Dacia to interfere with Britain.

Shortly after Hadrian came to the throne, the state of affairs in Britain was such as to demand the personal presence of the Emperor. He came here in the autumn of A.D. 119. It is believed that he brought the Empress Sabina with him. He brought the 6th Legion with him, the 9th having been nearly cut to pieces by the Caledonians before the battle of Graupius. We know little of the exploits of Hadrian in Britain. One result of his visit, however, was the rearing of the Wall from Wallsend on the Tyne to Bowness on the Solway Firth, the remains of which to this day excite the astonishment of most beholders. A word or two about this Wall that we may the better compare it with the northern one.

It consists first of a Wall of stone 7 or 8 feet thick. How high it originally was we do not know. In some places it still stands 9 ft. high. Bede says it was 12 ft. Camden says that he saw it in one place 15 ft. It probably was 16 or 18 ft. high. On its northern side is a fosse of about 9 or 10 ft. deep, and 20 or 30 ft. wide at top. To the south of the stone wall is an earthen wall, generally called the *Vallum*. This consists of a fosse with an agger or rampart on its northern side, and two aggers on its southern. Between the stone wall and the earth wall was the military way, which was undoubtedly a very important part of this great military structure.

There were also on the Wall, at distances averaging four miles, stationary camps strongly fortified, for the residence of the troops. The largest of these occupies upwards of 5 acres of ground. Besides these stations, at a distance of a Roman mile (7 furlongs) from each other, was a series of small buildings about 60 ft. square, the walls of which are about 7 or 8 ft. thick. These "mile-



castles" (as we now call them) were probably for the temporary residence of a small body of troops told off to guard that portion of the Wall. Besides this there were between the "mile-castles" three or four turrets or stone sentry-boxes for the use of the sentinels. These had walls of good masonry about 3 ft. thick.

Hadrian, in building this Wall, did not give up the country to the north of it to the enemy. In proof of this let me state that two roads, each of them about 20 miles from the eastern and western extremity of the Wall, went right into Scotland,—the Watling Street and the Maiden-way. On these roads were stationary camps which were occupied by Roman troops down to nearly the close of the Roman occupation of Britain. This we know from the inscriptions and the coins found in them. But besides this fact we have the important circumstance to notice, that every station and every "mile-castle" had a wide gateway opening northwards. There must have been about a hundred of these. This does not look as if the Wall was a fence, and that the country to the north of it was given up to the enemy.

Notwithstanding Hadrian's efforts, the Britons in the northern part of the island had in the time of Antoninus Pius become so troublesome that he found it necessary to send, for the suppression of the revolt, Quintus Lollius Urbicus to Britain as his representative, and armed with special powers. One result of his efforts was the building of the Antonine Wall or Graham's Dyke.

We have already observed that Agricola, before leaving the Lowlands of Scotland, found it necessary to place in garrison some troops in his rear, to render all safe behind him. He, of course, could do so most economically by planting his forts in the narrowest part of the country, that, namely, which lies between the Firths of Clyde and the Forth. The same reason which influenced Agricola would move Lollius Urbicus to plant his Wall here. This General, having dammed back the hostile waves of Caledonians in the year A.D. 140, thought it necessary to rear a continuous line of defence from the one coast to the other. This he did by carrying a Wall from Carriden on the Firth of Forth to West Kilpatrick on the river Clyde.

The land between these two shores consists of a wide valley bounded on the north by the successive ranges of the Kilpatrick, the Campsie, and the Kilsyth Hills, and on the south by a continuous chain of gentle eminences, none of them rising to any great elevation. Now it is along the summits of these gentle southern heights that the Antonine Wall is carried. The nature of the ground is just that which the Romans always, if in their power, chose for their entrenchments. They disliked the exposure of excessive elevations, and yet they wished at all times to be secured from sudden surprise,—an advantage which a moderate rise gave them. In travelling by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway you have an opportunity of effectively noticing this arrangement in several parts of the course.

Antonine's Wall differs from Hadrian's in being a rampart of earth, not of stone. Like Hadrian's, it has a deep fosse on its north side, and a military way on its south. It also is provided with stationary camps for the residence of its defenders, and some minor structures resembling the "mile-castles" and turrets of the southern wall. It strongly resembles, in its general character, the great German Wall which extends from the Danube to the Rhine; which is an earthen fortification, no masonry whatever being used in its construction.

Unhappily, for the purposes of the antiquary, Graham's Dyke lies in the district which is traversed by the lines of communication which now unite the eastern with the western sea, and the two great metropolitan cities of Scotland, Edinburgh and Glasgow. The progress of improvement has done much to obliterate the lines of Lollius Urbicus. On my first visit to the Wall (now some years ago) I was informed by Mr. Dollar of Falkirk, who kindly acted as my guide in that vicinity, that he had been told by his grandmother that she remembered the time when all the traffic between Edinburgh and Glasgow was carried on by means of pack-horses, and that these travelled along the Roman military way attached to the Wall. For fourteen centuries this *via militaris* served the necessities of the district. The same, to some extent, was the case on the Northumbrian Wall; but rapid changes have taken place since my informant's

grandmother was young. A coach-road has been made, and we may say almost gone; a canal has been dug, and it also has almost become a thing of the past; and now the fiery locomotive revels over the whole scene.

Unfortunately the Wall has suffered severely under all these changes; it is now but the wreck of its former self. It is only here and there that it appears in its native majesty. In the vicinity of Falkirk, both to the east and the west of it, the works are colossal. The ditch in Gordon's day, near Castlecary (and I think it is the same yet), was 50 ft. in breadth, and  $23\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in depth. The rampart or wall, which was 22 ft. distant from the fosse, was 24 ft. broad, and 5 ft. in perpendicular height.

In the grounds of Mr. Forbes of Callender, near the town of Falkirk, I saw remains which in my note-book I have described as enormous. They are such as to delight the eye of the antiquary, and to give him an impressive conviction of the grandeur of the conception, and of the firmness of the resolve of the Roman people.

In most other places the Wall has entirely disappeared, the fosse alone marking its course. Occasionally the operations of husbandry have filled up the fosse; but even here the colour of the herbage or the character of the corn show how indelible are the traces which the excavator leaves behind him.

Gordon tells us that besides the main rampart to the south of the fosse there was another to the north of it. Horsley demurs to this. My observation, both on my first visit and one which I recently paid to the Wall, induces me to say that Gordon is right. In more than one place, and particularly at Ferguston Moor, near Glasgow, I was particularly struck with the occurrence of the two ramparts of equal size, and at nearly equal distances from the fosse,—the one on the north and the other on the south side of it. This additional rampart has probably been raised in this and some other places owing to some peculiarity in the form of the ground. In the barrier of the lower isthmus we have in one place, for some distance, an additional member added to the vallum; but this occurs only in one place.

The Northern Wall was nearly thirty-seven miles long. The number of stationary camps placed upon it has been

eighteen. None of these stations are mentioned in the *Notitia*, this part of the island having been entirely abandoned by the Romans at the time of its compilation; consequently we do not know the Roman name of any one of the camps, nor by what troops they were occupied. From the altars and inscribed slabs which are found in the forts we learn that various corps of Gauls, Germans, and other foreigners, in the Roman service, were stationed along the isthmus, besides occasional detachments of the legionary troops.

The stations have been placed within the distance of two miles from each other. In the Southern Wall they average four miles; but the southern camps are for the most part larger than those on the Northern Wall. Being so near each other, they command the view of their nearest neighbours on each side, and from some of them we can see two or three in each direction. Barhill Fort seems to occupy the loftiest position in the whole line, for both extremities of the barrier may be seen from it. The most remarkable feature of this part of the line is the north fosse. It is cut in all its formidable dimensions out of the solid trap-rock. I did not measure it; but Gordon says he found it to be 40 ft. broad, and 35 deep. Even with the aid of gunpowder, such a cutting would be a very formidable thing.

I was much struck with the view from Castle Hill Fort, the third from the western extremity of the Wall. Eastwards you see Kirkintilloch, three stations off, while westwards there is mapped out before you the termination of the Wall, Dumbarton Rock, and the silvery Clyde as it begins to swell into an estuary. This western view was of the utmost importance, for it was needful to have timely notice of the approach of the opposing Scots from Ireland. And then looking southward from this spot we now see those crowded hives of living men, Glasgow, Paisley, Renfrew, and Johnstone; but then the Roman soldier looked upon hills and forests tenanted chiefly by the red deer, the wild boar, the wolf, and perhaps the beaver.

My late friend, Mr. John Buchanan of Glasgow, tells us in his "Notice of the Barrier of Antoninus", given in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* for 1858, that



“of all the eighteen *castella* of the Wall scarcely a vestige remains.” I am glad that he has said this, otherwise I should have been ashamed at the paucity of my gleanings. At Castle Hill, at Kirkintulloch, and at Bar Hill, I saw the outlines of the stations well developed, and at Bar Hill I thought I saw the foundations of the interior dwellings. Not a single “mile-castle” was I able to discover; and as to turrets, only one was in existence even when General Roy made his survey. Of it he gives us a drawing; and it is well he has done so, for it has disappeared since.

In the Wall of the Lower Isthmus several inscriptions have been found giving us the name of Hadrian and other emperors, leading to the conclusion that they had to do with the Wall. The inscriptions found upon the Upper Wall are equally instructive.

Lollius Urbicus, as we have seen, commanded the Roman forces in Britain during the greater part of the reign of Antoninus Pius. How important, then, that we should find some stones on which his name was carved. One was found in the days of Gordon, and it is now in the Museum of the University of this city. It is but a fragment of the original stone, but it displays the name of the proprator. It reads: “*Legio secunda Augusta [sub] Quinto Lollio Urbico legato Augusti propratore [fecit].*” (The Second Legion, the Imperial, under Quintus Lollius Urbicus, the Legate of Augustus, and Proprætor, erected this.) Gordon, speaking of this stone, says: “It is the most invaluable jewel of antiquity that ever was found in Britain since the time of the Romans. If one were to comment on this stone as the subject would well admit of, a whole treatise might very well be written on the head.....For how nicely does it correspond with the account given by Capitolinus in the life of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, where he says, ‘*Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit alio muro cespitio ducto*’, etc.” I quite enter into Alexander Gordon’s feelings; but I am glad to state that another slab, in a perfect state, has been found comparatively recently, mentioning the name of this famous general and of his master.

The stone of most recent discovery is a large one, and is of peculiar interest. The drawing which I have here

is half the size of the original slab. It was found at Carriden, the eastern extremity of the Wall, and is now in the Museum here.

I may mention that there had been a doubt in the minds of some antiquaries as to whether Carriden was the terminal station of the Wall. Bede tells us that the barrier joined the Forth at "Abercornig", the modern Abercorn, which is a few miles to the east, and nearer the shore, as it at present exists. The discovery of this slab confirms the belief that Carriden was the terminus of the Wall. There are no traces of its being carried further. Carriden is somewhat elevated, and it commands a view of the plain reaching to the shore. Possibly, too, the sea may have flowed up to Carriden when the Wall was built. It is the opinion of some geologists that the land between the two seas has risen in comparatively modern times. Mr. Daniel Wilson, in the opening chapter of a work styled *The Comprehensive History of Scotland*, says: "Some of these ancient sea-margins are traced in the boulder-clay of the glacial period; but others not only contain marine shells, as those now inhabiting the neighbouring seas, but even indicate *a rise of land over an extensive area between the Forth and the Clyde within the historic period.*" I know he is not alone in this opinion.

We will now examine the slab. The inscription is given in clear, well-formed letters, and is without ligatures. I give it in English:—

"To the Emperor Caesar Titus Ælius Hadrianus Augustus, Pious, Father of his Country. The Second Legion, the Imperial, constructed the Wall through a length of 4,652 paces."

The Roman *passus*, it is needless to say, consisted of the double step, or about 5 ft. The distance made would, therefore, be nearly  $4\frac{1}{4}$  miles.

The subjects on either side of the inscription are a battle-scene and the performance of a lustration. The scene on the left of the tablet represents a warrior on horseback, fully armed, trampling upon his enemies. The unhappy Caledonians are represented by four figures in every posture of discomfort: one, indeed, has lost his head, which lies on the ground beside him. They are represented without clothing of any kind. This surely

must be an artistic licence on the part of the sculptor. They have no beards. On Trajan's Column at Rome all the barbarians (the Dacians) are represented with beards, whereas the Romans are all shaved. A leaf-shaped sword, probably of bronze, lies on the ground. It is of the form that was in use among the Celts of Britain before the coming of the Romans.

The subject on the left hand side of the slab represents a religious service going forward. The Romans, when they had completed any work, before giving it up to its intended purpose performed the ceremony of lustration. The object of this was to free it from any contamination. The ceremonies consisted in the sprinkling of holy water, the burning of certain materials (such as incense), the smoke of which was thought to have a purifying effect, and the slaying of victims. The principal figure in the group, in the vesture of a priest, is probably intended for Lollius Urbicus. Unfortunately his face is broken off. He is pouring wine or oil from a *patera* upon an altar. Music was a necessary accompaniment of the *lustratio*; accordingly we find a performer playing upon the *tibicinium* or double pipes. The animals for sacrifice, a sheep, an ox, and a pig, are in the foreground of the picture. It was usual at a lustration to make these animals walk three times round the space or building to be purified, and then slain. Some portion of the entrails of the animals sacrificed, together with some parched corn and wine, were then laid upon the altar, whilst the rest of the animals formed a feast for the worshippers. Behind the whole group in this compartment is a standard-bearer holding up a *vexillum*, on which is inscribed

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On the Northern Wall all the inscriptions, with one exception, represent work done by the *three legions* then in Britain, the 2nd, the 6th, and the 20th. Nothing is said of work executed by the auxiliary or foreign troops, excepting one, the 1st Cohort of Tungrians. On the Southern Wall we have many inscriptions telling us of buildings erected and other work done by Asturians, Batavians Gauls, and other foreign troops. The reason

of this difference it is hard to discover. Possibly when the legionary soldiers were on the Wall, the foreign or auxiliary troops were kept under by them ; but ere their withdrawal the auxiliaries would be free to claim the credit of any buildings they erected. If, as I suppose, the Antonine Wall was soon deserted, there would be no opportunity for the auxiliaries to display themselves. They have, however, erected altars on which their names occur. On Hadrian's Wall repairs and new erections occurred from time to time, and the names of the auxiliaries appear upon them.

It may seem to some persons exceedingly strange that an unambitious and prudent man like Antoninus Pius should not be satisfied with the barrier which had satisfied Hadrian, but should advance his frontier upwards of a hundred miles further north. The answer to this surmise is (as I have already hinted) that Hadrian did not give up to the enemy the country north of the Wall, and that Antoninus, in building his Wall, did not intend it as a line of operation against the country to the north of it, but as a fence against Caledonian aggression. He only sought to make more secure the country which Hadrian claimed.

The Wall of the lower isthmus (Hadrian's Wall) keeps to the north of the fertile valleys along which the rivers Tyne, Irthing, and Eden flow, so as to protect them from invasion. The Wall of the upper isthmus adopts a different policy. It keeps to the south of the river-basins of the isthmus. At its eastern extremity the Firth of Forth bounds it on the north ; and where it fails, the river Carron comes into requisition ; and then one of the principal feeders of the Carron, Bonny Burn. This brings us to the centre of the line, where we have the Dollater Bog. Out of this flows the river Kelvin, which skirts the northern margin of the Wall almost to its western termination. These valleys have been given up to the enemy, or rather they have been regarded as an additional line of defence against them. In this way the magnificent Carse of Falkirk, so valuable to the farmer, has been given up to the foe. Doubtless it was more of a marsh in Roman days than at present, and was to some extent encroached upon by the Firth of Forth ; but this



does not seem sufficient to account for the striking contrast in the engineering peculiarities of the two structures.

But besides all this, on the southern Wall, Hadrian's every station and every mile-castle has had a broad gateway opening northwards. On Antonine's Wall the stations, as seen in General Roy's plans, appear to have no northern gates. The same was probably the case with the mile-castles, though they seem all to have disappeared even before General Roy's time. It would seem as if the Northern Wall had partaken more of the nature of a barrier against aggression than of a line of military operation.

Lollius Urbicus, in building the Northern Wall, did not abandon the Southern one. On it have been found several inscriptions mentioning Antoninus Pius, his august master. At *Bremenium*, on the Watling Street, near the Scottish border, there was recently found a fine slab which had evidently been placed on the front of some important building there, giving the honour of the work to Antoninus Pius. I give the inscription in English:—

“To the Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, Pious, the Father of his Country; under Quintus Lollius Urbicus, Imperial Legate and Proprætor, the 1st Cohort of the Lingones, having a due proportion of Cavalry, erected this.”

It is a remarkable fact that all the inscriptions found upon Graham's Dyke belong to the age of Antoninus Pius. Were no repairs required in the days of his successors? and were no additional buildings erected? On the Southern Wall we meet with many inscriptions belonging to reigns subsequent to that of Hadrian. Some of them speak of the re-erection of buildings which had fallen down from age. It almost seems as if the Wall of Antoninus was abandoned shortly after the reign of that Emperor. Another fact strengthens this supposition. Very few coins have been found upon it belonging to a later date. As in modern so in ancient times, where no money was forthcoming there was no soldiery. The Romans evidently found that the climate of the upper isthmus did not suit them, and for their health's sake retired to a more genial latitude.

I have now endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to

give you some little account of the famous structure, Graham's Dyke. What I have been unable to effect you will be able yourselves to accomplish when you visit the Wall next week. The mighty people who reared these structures, and were masters of the world, have passed away. And why? Because they gave way to luxury, impurity, and sin of every kind.

We may be said to be their successors. Queen Victoria wields a sceptre which is obeyed by a population four times as great as that over which the great Julius ruled. Let us demean ourselves wisely, humbly, and holily, and then we may yet be, for ages to come, by the blessing of God, able not only to maintain but to improve our position, and to be a blessing to the whole world.

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## SCOTTISH MASONS' MARKS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

BY T. HATTER LEWIS, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read at the Glasgow Congress, 29 August 1888.)

I HAVE less hesitation in addressing you on the subject which I have taken, viz., masons' marks, than I should have in addressing an ordinary assembly, inasmuch as you have recently had pointed out to you by Mr. Brock many examples *in situ*. Of these curious marks Scotland possesses a larger number than, perhaps, we can show down South; and they are, in fact, so numerous that I need scarcely refer to any other mediæval ones. They are found cut on the stonework of nearly every mediæval building of importance, and on very many buildings of greater antiquity. Of these I have drawn some of the most common types, and ranged them in such order as may be most conveniently understood.

The first three upright rows in each of the two diagrams are of great antiquity. The first is taken from marks painted or cut on the foundations of the ancient walls of Jerusalem, and were found by Sir C. Warren.

The second row is from Egypt, and the third from Persia.

The next four rows (4, 5, 6, 7) are from various Eastern countries, viz., Syria, Asia Minor, etc., after the date of our era, and most probably under Saracenic influence.

No. 8 is from France.

Nos. 9, 10, and 17, from England.

No. 10 from France; and all the rest from Scotland.

But numerous marks have been found in Rome, Pompeii, and Greece; almost everywhere, in fact, where they are looked for; and I have myself found them in such varied positions, and of such varied dates, as those of the great pagan Mausoleum of Juba, in Algeria, the Arabic Mosque of Amru at Cairo, and the Jewish Temple of Onias in the Land of Goshen.

A drawing kindly lent to me by Mr. Honeyman gives also a series of marks found in this Cathedral.

The first description of masons' marks was given by Mr. George Godwin, the former Editor of *The Builder*, in the *Archæologia*, in 1841, and in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* in 1868. A very valuable paper on Scotch marks in particular was published by Mr. Chalmers in 1852; and all the authorities and books to be consulted are quoted in an excellently written and condensed paper by Mr. Wyatt Papworth in *The Dictionary of the Architectural Publication Society*, under the head of "Marks". Last year the whole subject, especially as regarding freemasonry, was very ably treated, and at great length, by my fellow craftsman, Bro. Gould, in his *History*; and quite recently papers have been read on the marks by Mr. Henry Jeffs at Gloucester, and by Mr. J. Walker Whitley at Leamington.

That many of these strange, ancient marks had originally a definite meaning is very probable; but this part of the subject is too difficult to be entered upon here, and I will merely, therefore, give as a specimen of what might possibly have been the case with such ancient marks, explain one which is now one of an Arab tribe. It is simple enough: just two upright lines; but these represent spears stuck in the ground point downwards, and with O between them, signify a truce.

I come now specially to the mediæval marks, and I must refer to one statement which I have seen made, viz., that they were hidden away out of sight in the horizontal joints. This is so, no doubt, in modern times, the marks (which are still commonly used) being put in the joints so as to prevent the stone being disfigured by them; and it was so also in some cases, though rarely, in former times; e.g., I have seen such marks in the bed of a stone from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and I was able to copy two of a very peculiar form which had been



hidden away in the joint of an overturned column at Cairo; but in general they were external, and quite prominent enough to be easily seen, as they are in other parts of that very monument, the Mausoleum, which I have just quoted.

As to the working of the surface of the stones, and the



tool-marks left by the masons. I shall refer immediately, as I look upon them of great value.

Now the special interest which the study of these marks has is the light which it possibly may, and I hope ultimately will, throw upon the vexed questions of the designers and constructors of the great buildings of the twelfth to the fourteenth century. It is strange that we know for certain so little as to these. Enter some vast cathedral, and awed by its grandeur and its beauty you ask by whom its outlines and details were first brought into being. Who were the men who designed them and worked them out? In whose brains were the outlines, remodelled in every succeeding century, imagined?

We turn to the written records. Nothing is told us there, before the thirteenth century, beyond the statement that a master-mason, or some such chief workman, carried out the work; but that was the very time of the great change from Norman to Early Pointed, which must have been prepared for years before it actually took place.

Then we turn to the buildings themselves. Something these tell us at once as to their construction; at least we see that the men who worked at them in the twelfth century differed altogether in their manner of working from those of the thirteenth. The size of the stones, the tools used, the modes of working them, all differed most strikingly; differed, in fact, as much as the mouldings, the arches, the ornaments did. Go where you will, in England, France, Sicily, Palestine, you will find all through the buildings of the twelfth century the same carefully worked masonry, the same masons' toolmarks, the same way of making them. Except in Scotland, where a more massive construction prevailed, the masons used small stones, some 9 in. wide and 6 high, carefully squared, and marked across the surface with a delicately pointed chisel: always diagonally if the stone were flat, but following the leading lines if the work were moulded. These are masons' marks on the grandest scale, graven on every stone where the work which we call Norman is found.

Another century comes, and all is changed. Except, it would again appear, in Scotland, where the old style seems to have continued to be used, the delicate tooling

disappears, and in place of it we get marks made with a toothed chisel, which cover the whole surface with small, regular indentations most carefully worked upright (not diagonally as before), and giving us another series of masons' marks which are sometimes of great use in regard to the origin and date of buildings. In Scotland, where the old tools were largely used in the new, the strokes were usually made upright, and much more strongly cut than before. No long time since I had the pleasure of pointing out the change in the tooling to the well-known French archæologist, M. Clermont Ganneau, who was then examining the buildings in Palestine, and he has recorded that these tool-marks furnished him with a new power in treating of the history of the development of Western architecture.

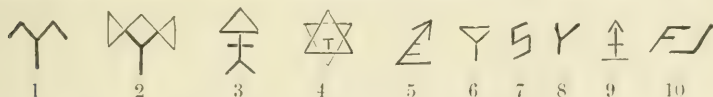
But consider further, that when the tools of the Norman masons were thrown aside, there were thrown aside also their well-known details of ornaments and mouldings, their style became more refined, and the men who succeeded them invented the lovely ornamentation and details of the Early Pointed and Decorated work which you know so well here in Glasgow and in Elgin and Holyrood.

How came this change, and who were its definite authors? Something do these masons' tool-marks suggest as to this. The Norman tooling, so far as I have been able to trace it, came from the north and west of Europe; and wherever I have found it more easterly, as in Sicily or Palestine, the buildings have evidently had their origin in the west. But it is not so with the thirteenth century work. The claw-tool has been used in south-eastern Europe and Asia from very early times, and there is scarcely an ancient or thirteenth century mediæval building known to me, from Polo or Ravenna on the Adriatic, to Greece and eastward, which does not show in some part its use. Even now it is the ordinary tool in Egypt, and you may see there any day the masons working with it as a matter of course. We have thus, at the outset, in these tool-marks as well as in the design of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, clear evidences of two distinct sources from which they were derived.

I now turn to the detailed consideration of the marks,

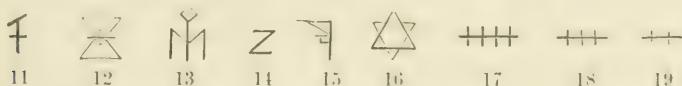
to try to learn from their study something more of the history of the buildings on which they are engraved. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that these masons' marks are used now as much as they ever were, although they are hidden, as I have before described; and it will make our task easier if we proceed, from what we know of these present marks, to try to trace their use backwards; and it was with this view in particular that I made the collection of modern marks, some of the leading forms of which I have given in the fifteenth and subsequent rows. In this I have been materially assisted by Mr. Brindley, the well-known sculptor, by Messrs. Dove, and others, to whom my thanks are due.

The first point to ascertain is, are these marks, as a rule, hereditary, descending from father to son with such slight alterations as may serve to distinguish them from each other? and it would be an important matter to establish their continuity. Certainly, in many cases, it is not so: *e.g.*, a Derbyshire family of masons has three distinct marks for three of its separate members, figs. 6, 7, 8; a



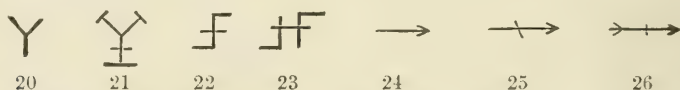
Bristol family has fig. 1, which is developed into fig. 2, scarcely recognizable at the first glance; whilst another member takes fig. 3, all trace of the others being lost. In another case the father's mark is fig. 4, and the son's fig. 5; and in a fourth family the difference is as great in figs. 9 and 10.

Going back to a list of Scotch marks of a mason's lodge of Aberdeen in 1670, quoted by Bro. Gould, we find two members bearing the same name in three instances, the marks being respectively figs. 11 and 12, 13 and 14, 15 and 16; but I have no means of ascertaining as to whether the members were of the same family as well as name.



On the other hand, there are many cases in which the same marks are used at the present day by members of

distinctly the same family, there being some slight difference for the sake of identification. We have thus the very simple marks of a father and two sons (London), figs. 17, 18, 19; of a Yorkshire mason's family, figs. 20, 21; and a Hertfordshire one named Flint, figs. 22, 23; and the probability is certainly that some such course, as Mr. Whitley has pointed out, would be taken, as you can easily see might be with any of the very simple forms which I have drawn. The arrow, *e.g.*, fig. 24, gradually converted into figs. 25 and 26, as you may see was really done.



There is, no doubt, evidence both ways; but bearing in mind that the strictness of the rules of the old guilds had been considerably relaxed even in the seventeenth century, we may, I think, assume with great probability that the plan still existing of the same marks being continued in use by members of the same family, with such modifications as I have noted, was a characteristic of the mediæval masons.

The next point is, was there any distinct mark which would serve to distinguish the members of any particular lodge, or company, or fraternity? And I may say shortly that I can see no sign which would thus define a separate group of workmen; such a sign, *e.g.*, as that of the crown above the hammer, so well known on the Scottish tombstones. Yet there are certain cases in which one would expect to find them, if, as we generally suppose, the companies were under clerical guidance. Take, *e.g.*, those marks collected chiefly by Captain Conder from the Muristan, which was the Hospital of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. We might, I think, hope to find something bearing upon their well-known eight-pointed badge; but there is not, so far as I can see, any trace of it.



The only method left to us, therefore, by which we can trace the work and the progress of any particular lodge or fraternity from one building to another, or from one date to another, so as to ascertain the progress of an art by the consecutive history of two or more buildings, is





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MASONS' MARKS.







by taking a group of separate but well ascertained marks in one of them, and tracing out the same marks, if possible, in another. This has been done, to a certain extent, in some cases, and Mr. Whitley, to whom I have before alluded, and who has treated the subject in a very able way, gives us his experience in his paper, from which I make a short quotation :—"On careful examination we find that the marks upon Leicester's buildings of Kenilworth, and the projection and angle-buttress adjoining thereto, are of quite different kinds ; and this leading to the re-examination of the buildings, we discover that the projection is part of an older tower."

Mr. Whitley, to whom I am indebted for several of the marks in my diagrams, here discovers the difference of date by the difference of the marks, and Mr. Brock, you will remember, pointed out a similar case at Paisley.

This mode of identification, however, failed in the case of that very accurate observer, the late Mr. Street, in Spain. He states that the masons seemed to have worked together in large bodies, with a sign for each mason ; but he could not, except in one or two cases, detect the mark of the same mason on more than one work.

Now I quite agree with Mr. Whitley that a careful inspection of the marks in any one district may be of much use in fixing the dates and the authorship of the buildings in it ; and all evidence seems to point to there having been bands of skilled workmen attached to great monasteries, cathedrals, and in later times large cities, whose example and training influenced the districts round. When works of great magnitude were in hand, these bands were, no doubt, increased ; and when the works ceased they were lessened in number, the members dispersing here and there, and leaving their marks in various places, much as our masons do now at the finish of some great work. But I find no distinct trace of the general employment of large migratory bands of masons going from place to place as a guild, or company, or brotherhood.

The next point for us to consider is whether we can find any distinct change between the marks of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the great alteration took place in the tooling and the style generally ; and I feel bound to say that I cannot see any distinct or general

sign of such change, the most marked sign, such as the Pentalpha, the cross, and the cone, being freely used at all dates.

Generally we find that the same forms which were used in early times were continued in the later, though they were then made more ornate; but there is no distinct change. Masons' marks again, therefore, fail us here; but we may go a step further. I must call to your mind what Viollet le Duc and Count de Vogüé agree in saying as to the influence of Eastern art upon that of Europe at the time of the Crusades, and we may then endeavour to discover if any connection can be found between our masons' marks and those used in the East.

For this reason it was that I have drawn the lists Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7, from Palestine and Syria, the date of all being in or before the twelfth century (mostly *long* before), and which have been, there is little reason to doubt, erected with the aid, in part at least, of Saracenic workmen, and you will at once see that all the characteristic mediæval marks are indicated, often in a very simple way, in one or other of these lists, and in several instances in two or more of the lists. One of them is so peculiar

4 that I must especially notice it. It is like the figure 4, and is a trade-mark, dated 1607. It is found in the well-known bench in the two Town churches at Aberdeen, and I saw it no long time since in a very elegant form on a tombstone dated 1763, at Largs, no great way from here. Now this is not a mark to be made, as many are, by two or three strokes; and it

4 is interesting to find it not only on the pavement of the dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, but on the stones of Baalbec, whence Sir C. Warren has sketched it.

As to the others, one thing will, no doubt, strike you, viz., that there is not in any of the lists one of the marks, except No. 16, which may be looked upon as a sacred symbol, although the greatest part of the mediæval buildings whence they were taken were churches, and under clerical influence.

There are two others as to which doubts may arise, viz., the + and the A. The latter appears amongst the marks taken from the Muristan and from Syria, and it is found also in the glass inlays of about the fifth century

B.C. in Egypt ; but there is never, so far as I know, any corresponding sign of the O in any of its forms of  $\Omega$  or  $\omega$ ; and to clear up further any doubt as to its secular character, I may mention that the peculiar form in which we have the A in general amongst the marks is given clearly and distinctly in my list from the relics of the Temple of Onias, where it is stamped on the back of one of the beautiful tiles there found. Of these tiles there is a large collection in the British Museum, and at the request of the late Dr. Samuel Birch I wrote an account of the Temple, the ruins of which I visited in company with the Rev. Greville Chester, by whom the tiles were brought. Some of the smaller ones I have, and I exhibit others here from the collection of the Palestine Exploration Fund ; others, and very beautiful ones, are figured in my description, some copies of which I have brought here for your inspection.

At the back of several of them are marks whose peculiarity (whatever their date) is that they are the earliest examples known of the +, the E, and the A, as structural marks. I ventured to assign them to the date of Onias, viz., the second century B.C.; but Mons. Maspero, in his recent work on Egypt, puts them back to so early a period as that of Rhameses III, c. B.C. 1000. Take any date you like, it will be long antecedent to Christianity, and thus the secular nature of the marks must be admitted. Take that other curious form, the Pentalpha. This is stamped very distinctly on one of the vases found at Tanis in Egypt, its date being about the sixth century B.C.

As to the cross, I need scarcely say that it is one of the earliest characters known, and you may see it in several forms on nearly every Egyptian sarcophagus. It is graven on the Temple-stones of Baalbec, and stamped on those tiles from the Temple of Onias.

Now putting together the information which we have we find—

1st. That certain definite methods of marking the general surfaces of the stones characterised the masonry of the styles which we call Norman, and that this had apparently a Western origin.

2nd. That in the thirteenth century there was intro-

duced, with the Early Pointed style, an entirely different method of finishing the surface, and that the source of this method was apparently from the East.

4th. That masons' marks do not appear to have been commonly used in Europe until late in the twelfth century.

5th. That some of the most prominent of these marks appear to have been used continuously, from very early times, in Eastern countries.

Thus we are led to pay more attention to the opinion of Viollet le Duc, that there is evidence that the clergy who were in the company of the Crusaders returned to Europe with the knowledge of what had been done by the Saracens, and endeavoured to apply what they had seen, the art of the Saracens having thus a great influence on that of the West. But whether the great body of the Cluniacs or Cistercians, or any other body, was, as Viollet le Duc also supposes, the centre from which the designing and practice of the beautiful thirteenth century architecture were derived, and how, in any case, that design and practice were so quickly and so widely spread, is a problem of the deepest interest to us.

I know that it will be said that the evolution of the Pointed style was that of gradual development. So, no doubt, to a large extent, it was, as must be the case with every invention, no matter what. But I absolutely refuse to believe that so great a change, made in so short a time, was the result of a mere system of gradual improvement; nor can I believe in the theory which would assign the change to a partnership of minds, be they monks or citizens, in monasteries or in guilds. In every great movement which the world has seen, some one great mind comes forth as its pioneer; nor can I think that it has been otherwise with our art.

I am not enthusiast enough to suppose that the marks which the workmen have left will ever be so outspoken as to tell us of the *man*; but I do believe that the search into their meaning—a search which was not even begun until some fifty years since—may lead us to the *place* and to the means by which its influence was so powerfully and quickly spread.

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ON FURTHER DISCOVERIES OF  
MOUNDS AND CONSTRUCTIONS SIMULATING  
THE FORMS OF ANIMALS,

IN

AMERICA, CHINA, PERSIA, INDIA, ASIA MINOR, GREECE, SCANDI-  
NAVIA, FRANCE, SPAIN, AND GREAT BRITAIN.

DURING PERSONAL SURVEYS AND RESEARCHES.

BY DR. PHENÉ, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., ETC.,

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Icelandic Society, of the Antiquarian Society of Athens, etc.*

(Read at the Glasgow Congress, 31 August 1888.)

THIS subject is so little known, and the intents and uses of such simulations so little understood, that I often meet with persons whose literary knowledge ought at least to embrace the valuable publications of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, disputing the very existence of such emblems, though they have been mapped and figured by thousands, found in the United States.

At the time I made my own discoveries of such simulations in Scotland, England, and Western Europe generally, I was quite unaware that similar objects existed in America; and when I read a paper on this subject at Montreal, before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, I had never seen any of the American mounds, and was, therefore, not a little disconcerted, in refiguring such mounds from the Washington publications, to hear their very existence denied by some American men of professional standing, evidently sincere in their remarks, and speaking from personal observation.

I felt assured that the positive evidence from the authorities at Washington was of greater weight than the negations of individuals, the more so as the information published was from Government officials who would not have dared to falsify their statements; and as no argument or theory was in the majority of cases introduced, but the discoveries from time to time simply recorded,

there could be no purpose to serve in making such assertions gratuitously.

I, therefore, determined to visit the mounds myself, for which purpose I communicated with those Government officials who were authors of such publications, for the localities of the mounds, and for letters of introduction to the leading men in their vicinity; the neglect of which precaution, I subsequently found, had produced the failure of my opponents in their expeditions to find the mounds.

I pursued my practical survey from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, and not only visited every such mound so recorded, but discovered several others of great interest and diversity of form not previously described. Time will not permit me to go into detail; but a single instance will prove the deep interest of the subject in biological and even in geological science.

On reading before the Academy of Sciences at New York<sup>1</sup> (the meeting being presided over by Professor Newberry of Columbia College, New York City, one of their first geologists), I stated, with some amount of trepidation, that I had found mounds representing the horse and also the camel,<sup>2</sup> and I asked how such figures could have been made unless the makers had seen the living animals? The President, in remarking on the paper, admitted that I had correctly pointed out that the horse was not known in America before the visit made by the Spaniards, and that the camel is still non-existent there, saving the lama species; but that the mounds I had discovered proved the great antiquity of the American symbolical mounds, as bones of both the horse and camel, with slight differences from the Oriental types, had been found by him in *superficial deposits*. By which it is reasonable to assume that they may have been coeval with the mound-builders.

On my submitting, in their museums, bones which I had obtained from some superficial deposits in the localities of such mounds, they were identified as those of the horse, the camel, and of a species of mammoth; and the "Elephant Mound" on the banks of the Mississippi, which

<sup>1</sup> *New York World*, Nov. 28, 1882; *Oxford University Herald*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See my illustrations in *The Builder* of Dec. 2nd, 1882; also *The Times*, Dec. 4th, 1882.

was of course included in my survey, is a well known object.

There are several purposes, even amongst them those of utility, which such emblems may have served, with which I cannot now deal ; they excited much interest when suggested by me in New York. But all will admit that, apart from such questions, it has been a widely spread, if not an all-prevailing, custom of mankind to represent the objects of their adoration, whether as totems, or as deities of the highest attributes, by the brute or human form ; and the human form, of enormous dimensions, is found in America, as well as those of birds, quadrupeds, serpents, and other reptiles ; and although many purposes became apparent, in the investigation, the latter is a basis sufficiently broad to account for *universal* customs of producing semblances of human forms.

But if a desire to represent such forms was, as we know it was, widely carried into practice ; when the devotee of any such object beheld the form he revered accidentally *simulated by nature*, as is not infrequent, would he not feel as great or even a superior reverence for a form outlined by the hand of nature, or, as he would assume, impersonated by the special power of his dread or reverence ?

When it was suggested to Alexander the Great to have Mount Athos outlined into an effigy of himself, we can hardly suppose the idea would have arisen but for the enormous natural human and animal semblances so often seen in the Mediterranean : as, for example, the form at Theu-prosopon, the *Ras-esh-Shakáh*, of the Turks, and such animal resemblances as those at C'appo d'Orso, etc. ; while the figure of Niobe on Mount Tmolus, and even the head of the Sphinx, seem to have been suggested from the natural weathering of the rocks into those forms.

The Colossus at Ras-esh-Shakáh is in the same latitude as the famous Baalbek, between which and Beyroot the highest peak of the Lebanon range is dominant. Can we suppose that the Phœnician traders, with their curious stories of Gryphons (Γρύψ) guarding certain places, would have failed to identify this as a landmark, perhaps even a landing-place, for that "high place" of the Lebanon which probably even then looked down on an older sanctuary "*towards the sun rising*", which, as with Baalbek

itself, would lay in a straight line between the highest peaks respectively of the two Lebanon ranges, on the site of the present Baalbek ?

Before quitting this part of my subject I may also point out that one of the prime features of expression to indicate the greatness of their deities, alike amongst the most refined and the most barbarous pagan nations, was that of gigantic proportion. The Memnons, the Sphinx, the Chinese and Indian Colossi, the Mexican Easter Island, and other enormous figures, are eclipsed by the statues of gold and ivory, of which Pliny gives to Minerva 37 ft., and the Olympian Zeus, from approximates by Strabo and others, given as 30 ft. high in a sitting posture; by the vast human representations, in Britain, of 240 ft. and 180 ft. respectively, in height; and by the human forms of the American mound-builders, of 288 ft. in stretch of the arms; and their eagles of 250 ft. from the extreme points of their wings, and 105 ft. from head to tail; and quadrupeds 195 ft. in length.

The mere feature of the colossal is indicative of antiquity, while proportion and symmetry speak of an ancient civilisation in America as well as in Asia and Europe. The style also proves great antiquity. An art of representation of a most permanent kind, before attaining to the power of representing erect figures by sculpture or painting, and made in raised, horizontal, profile forms; sometimes in high relief, and sometimes by *intaglio*, or inward cutting; and where suitable material existed, a step in art, by the raised form being made by cutting away the adjoining and surrounding surface, leaving the form *in situ*. The Sphinx is an example of the latter art in a more advanced state, being an upright figure. The horizontal was clearly an earlier stage of art, finally developed into the upright in Egypt and Central America; having a special advantage in supply of material, solidity of base, and facility of portrayal, without artificial access, which in the vertical rock-sculptures of Egypt and Central America must have involved elevated stages and platforms of elaborate and costly construction, while the period required in execution would bear no comparison.

Time will not admit of treating of utilitarian purposes, which appear to have been of prime importance, and may



have been entirely devoid of superstition. I am, therefore, compelled to limit the subject to the more general purpose, as types of which I select, as found with that of man, the forms of the serpent and dragon, these having been the most widely known objects of veneration; and in this case the horizontal position is the true one; following this special class of forms in the geographical order in which it seems to me there may have been a communication of ideas by the observers and constructors; that is, the observers of the natural simulations, and the constructors of the artificial ones, viz., America, China, India, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Scandinavia, France, Spain, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and England; to the investigation of which I have given thirty years in travel.

I have endeavoured not only to classify the subjects which come under this section of archæology, but in so doing have felt constrained to credit these ancient people with a broad basis of system and even of topographical arrangement. This is a great step, and at first sight it may appear to have received undue importance; but the point that should be grasped is one that comes out prominently on investigation, viz., that each form was not isolated in intention, but was simply an item in a continuity of design and purpose.

Confined by time to a single example, I select a broad one. The most ancient chronicles record that letters were written to the officials of particular states, and that "posts" went out. These are quite minutely described. Some authors render the word רָץ (*rats*) as "runners". Such were, no doubt, employed; but on pressing matters of state, riders on horseback, on mules, camels, and young dromedaries, for swiftness, are enumerated. And on the point of swiftness the comparison is made between the inland "posts" and the "swift" departure of "ships" by sea. With such details the meaning seems beyond question. Is it, then, too much to assume that prior to and coevally with such postal arrangements, progress and certainty of route were aided by signals? If it be not, what so probable as that in still earlier epochs the more simple method of vast road-side indications for the guidance of messengers and merchants was adopted? If so, what so

natural as forms of the men and animals used or encountered by the way?

We know that itinerant merchants were the medium for the earliest intercourse; we know that cairns and termini were used by many nations: the *βαιτύλια* by the Syro-Phœnicians, Greeks, and Trojans; the *lapides effigati* by the Latins, engraved with the *ἱερὰ στοιχεῖα* (either symbols or forms of their deities), agreeing exactly with the stone termini from Babylon, now seen in all the museums of Europe, the sun and the serpent-figures being the most prominent; the *אבן משנית*, *eben mascîth*, the stones engraven with figures, by the Hebrews, etc. There were even presiding deities of roads and ways,—Hercules, Mercury, and the goddess Vibia. Of these *dii viales*, two seem to have derived their names from their office. Mercury was called *Viacus*, and the goddess Vibia had the reputation of preventing wayfarers from straying. She could hardly have done so except as a sign to indicate the direction.

In conjunction with the serpent, the human form is most prominent; and in Sussex, where a very ancient serpent-emblem is known, still exist a male and female deity,—the one like the head of the Sphinx, the other an intaglio cutting in the chalk downs;<sup>1</sup> both of enormous dimensions, and both apparently presiding (being face to face) over the once vast and almost trackless wood of Anderida. One of these figures has long since been identified with the ancient British deity Andrast or Andrass; the other being in the vicinity of the former Andred's Caster (the Camp of Andred), I have in several publications identified with that personage, probably so named from the Greek *ἀνὴρ*, *ἀνδρός* (a man), and from them the whole district so called. This would agree with Cæsar's statement that the Britons used Greek letters. These figures are both prominently in positions to guide wayfarers through the dangers of the forest.

Cæsar appears to have instituted a new course for the traffic in tin after having annihilated the navy of the Veneti, which had hitherto conveyed it. My former paper in this *Journal* of March 1878 shows how all this came about; and as Diodorus states the conveyance was

<sup>1</sup> See my illustration in *The Graphic*, Feb. 7, 1874.

then by horses, where is the improbability of supposing that the figure of a horse would mark the boundary at which the conveyance from Cornwall, the former place of departure, was to stop? The tin was clearly sent over by way of the Island of Vectis, or Wight, *after* he instituted the new traffic; and the spot where the white horse is would be the nearest bend in the road formed by the Ridgway down to the modern Portsmouth. The fleet being destroyed, a *short* passage by sea was necessary, and the one probably then in use by the Belgæ was, no doubt, adopted.

We learn from Suetonius that Augustus placed youths on the elevated roads to give information by signal of danger. This was merely substituting Roman for British scouts or sentinels, as the look-out from the heights was the first intimation Cæsar had of warlike opposition. That the great and lofty road of the Ridgway should have been excepted is most improbable. One of the grand objects of the various boundary-dykes was the same.

In the vicinity of one, and probably the oldest, of these roads several serpentine mounds have been discovered by me. I consider the Ridgway route and the White Horse long anterior to the Roman invasion, and that not Cæsar but the natives adopted the route and its way-mark for earlier Belgic commerce. The skilled use of the horse described in Cæsar's account includes horsemanship generally, as he mentions their cavalry (*equitatu*) as well as the chariot-warriors (*essedariis*); and their art in depicting animal forms, as recorded by several authors, would support this, the horse being their great possession. There must have been good roads for their chariots to go by in case of war, which was frequent in the island.

The veteran archaeologist of America, the first who seems to have reduced the subject to rule by critical survey, the careful accuracy of which has saved to America many a monument physically erased by the plough, Dr. F. H. Davis, M.D., was, with several other authors of the Government Reports on the animal-formed mounds, present at my reading at New York after my extensive survey of the mound-builders' works. Dr. Davis was the only one then living of the three great men who saw the importance of preserving the ancient monuments of the



Mississippi Valley ;<sup>1</sup> monuments which contain a record of former customs in which lie a large portion of the history of that vast continent. In those monuments, from the survey of which I had then just returned, I find a plan and system as perfect as could be laid down by our modern system of railway signalling, or of telegraphic communication, prior to that of electricity.

Such simple systems as are even now in use among the Indians would, if applied to the larger earthworks which are of dimensions, and in positions, to facilitate such an operation, cause with ease communication by signal-fires from Newark to St. Louis, and wake up to offence or defence, as desired, the elaborate and carefully constructed forts extending over that vast area ; while with the minor ones, of which many are lost, the agency of fire could be dispensed with, and the communication could be by sentinels. The more peaceful roadways for traffic or messengers have their special indications to guide or warn the wayfarer, as the case might be. By these routes, amongst the other animal forms already mentioned, the serpent and the dragon are most striking.

Some of these mounds are enormous, as Grave Creek Mound and Cahokia, and every advantage has been taken of natural elevations to erect others.

This, again, brings back the subject to the height of way-marks in Europe and Asia, of which the small stones from Babylon, mentioned above, give no indication. Homer mentions an example which proves the *βαιτύλια* to have been lofty ; *αἰπέῖα κολώνη*, a lofty mound, called by men *Βατίειαν*, but by the immortal gods, *σῆμα Μυρίνης*, often rendered Myrinne's Sepulchre, but in a more primary sense a sign, signal, a painted or sculptured device. Rendering *σῆμα* a tomb, instead of a sign, made it necessary to appoint the tomb to a person, hence Myrine. But Apollo was the tutelary deity of Myrine, and thence named Myrinus. It seems more probable, therefore, as the immortal gods would hardly have been represented as talking of a mortal's grave, that this "lofty" way-mark represented Apollo either by his sculptured sign, the serpent, or the sun, or an obelisk, or even his sculptured figure. If so, we may add his name to the *dii viales*; and

<sup>1</sup> See *The Oxford University Herald*, Dec. 23, 1882.



in this case as presiding over the intersections of roads where the allies of the Trojans met from the far-off plains, and thus, of course, as seen from far. This is strengthened by Ovid's describing the *natural semblance of a human form* on a hill-top in Messenia. It was called popularly the Watch-Tower of Battus, but Ovid prefers to call it the "Index", as evidently used as a guide for the way, and not to watch from. Hermes, or Mercury, having a difference with Apollo, was supposed to have turned one Battus into this form; one of the Ἑρμαῖα, in short, but said to be erected by the god himself; hence, of course, a hill instead of a carved stone, and above all a gigantic human semblance. Ζεὺς ὄπιος, guarded boundaries.

It is, perhaps, better to complete one illustration than to multiply examples in a superficial manner. The stone was said to be upright, and first to have resembled Ione,<sup>1</sup> one of the Nereides, who as goddesses were often implored for propitious journeys, especially by sea. They had altars near the coast for offerings, which were, no doubt, way-marks for mariners.

In the English translations all the points are lost. There is no mention of the locality, Messenia. Mr. Addison calls the stone into which Battus was turned a "touchstone", some authors call it a "pumice-stone", but in the original Latin it is a stone simulating Ione; and when Battus was transformed into it, it was called an "Index". An engraving in an early Latin edition in the British Museum represents Battus as a *stone figure* of a man pointing to a watch-tower on the hill in Messenia. So far from being a pumice-stone, it is described as "*durum silicem*"; probably a compact column, like the Stor Rock in Skye, or that seen from the Eggischhorn. Such a summit in Messenia was shown to me.

The story is very like that of Lot's wife, which not improbably meant a column of rock-salt, as a way-mark,

<sup>1</sup> Rude, mammilated, natural columns were and are yet worshipped; were imitated by the Phœnicians, as seen in museums; are frequent in Brittany. A monolith near Brest, with apparently natural protuberances, has been erected as a standing stone, and is 40 ft. high from the surface; but the mammæ are under 5 ft. from the ground. If in weathering these should fall off, the gender would be changed. It is described in my account in *Brit. Arch. Journal*, March 1878, as "le symbole d'une des grandes divinités Celtiques."

by which she died and was buried. Both transformations were for disobedience. Ovid's intention is clear from the next poem, in which Hermes, after transforming Battus, proceeds on his way, and encounters a lady and a dragon, the *finale* being that the lady is turned into a *marble statue*. In the *Iliad* Zeus turns a "dragon" into stone, as a sign.

As bearing on biology and geology, an almost unique example of an art-design of such objects from nature is in a collection of mound-builders' pottery in the Museum at Davenport, in America, and I believe only there. The pottery is in the form of dragons, and was exhumed from one of the ancient mounds. This mound was in a locality of not much apparent interest; but recently huge fossils have been found there in large quantities, and in the form of saurians. Professor Sir Richard Owen termed them dragons, and the technical name given to them is that of the *zeuglodon*. Whether this creature or only its fossil remains existed coevally with its representors in pottery, there is no evidence for; but it is attributing too great a knowledge of art to the mound-builders to assume that they could rehabilitate a skeleton with its outward living form.

Following the geographical order I have laid down, the serpent appears to have been very anciently represented in China by earthen ways. For, example, the *Lung*, or serpent, is a serpentine road leading to the royal tombs of the Ming dynasty, near Peking. This serpentine way is bordered on each side with colossal stone effigies of various animals in apparent attendance or guard on the great serpent. Dignity is imparted from the selection of all the larger animals, as elephants, camels, dromedaries, hippopotami, etc.

At the head of the way, near the royal tombs, is what is so often found, but the purpose of which has, I believe, only been identified by myself, a flowing stream (water of separation), cutting off contact between the living and the dead. In journeying the Hebrews might use running water collected in a vessel; but when settled, the brook Kidron became the separation of the living and the dead. There being now no temple, even a Samaritan mother will not touch the corpse of her own child, Moslems alone acting for the dead.

This is so constant a feature in the prehistoric burial-places in the British Isles, in the American sepulchral animal forms, and in the various animal designs I have traced on the several continents, that, given either the burial-place or the site of ancient settlement, I have found no difficulty in detecting its accompaniment. Hence the superstition that spirits could not pass running water. A ridge, or dorsal formation, leading to the tombs of Ec-batana, in Persia, is also known as "The Dragon."

In 1887 (the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty) a ceremony took place at Hong Kong, in presenting an address to the Governor to be sent to Her Majesty to commemorate the occasion, which included a procession, the great feature of which was two huge dragons, each requiring 180 bearers, each bearer being habited in an embroidered silk robe costing £6. The cost of the procession, which took three hours to pass any given point, was £16,000.

At this point, though a digression, I cannot omit to tender my thanks to our noble President (the Marquess of Bute) for information given to me by him at Athens, in 1877, of a like great dragon ceremony at Tarascon in the south of France. The whole day is given to it. Stating my desire to the Maire to be present at the whole ceremony, I was habited as one of the dragon's attendants, and with halberd and battleaxe, tabard and vizard, I followed the monster till a pretty little girl, dressed as Santa Martha, destroyed him by a symbolical baptism in a drenching of holy water.<sup>1</sup>

Cambodia is now the high place of serpent-worship in the East. In India the serpent is everywhere. I have already published accounts of my own observations upon it in my travels to some well-known places in that country. Time will not permit particulars, but the most recent discoveries of serpent-emblems are those at Sanchi and Amravati. But not the sculptured serpents alone, but living serpents, were and are still worshipped, and curiously associated with the human race. At Manipur the royal family claim descent from a still existing species of serpent called there Pa-Kung-Ba. Religious worship is still rendered to the living animal. A serpent of great age was worshipped at Sumbulpore down to a recent

<sup>1</sup> See the account in *The Builder* of August 30th, 1879.



date, as described by Major Kittoe. We can hardly forget that the paternity of Alexander the Great was asserted by his mother to have been that of a serpent.

The caves in which such serpents existed, sometimes of artificial construction, were, it seems, covered with earth. That the *contour* of the earthen encasement should have been formed to represent the object of worship within the enclosure is obvious; and the *allés couverts* in Brittany, once so covered, and now called *grottes des fées*, were not improbably covered in such semblance. But *fée* is French for enchantress, and the female diviner, and the spirit of Aub, or of Python, was the spirit thought to affect the woman of Endor and the Pythoness of Philippi.

The serpent and the woman seem always in the same argument, whether at Delphi, in the priestesses, or elsewhere. The serpent-temples of the Greeks always had their attendant priestesses. Minerva is always represented with a serpent. Any sacred or symbolical earthen mound in India would probably recall both the woman and the serpent to the mind of the beholder. As in the Vedas the Earth itself is addressed as *Sarpa Rajni*, i.e., Queen of the Serpents, so also the Scandinavian goddess Hertha, or Earth, was worshipped with serpent surroundings, as the wife of Odin.

With a masculine aspect, the same idea was held by the Greeks. Erechtheus and the man-serpent Erechthonius had the Earth for their mother. The Persian idea of Ahriman was not dissimilar.

The *omphalos* of the Greeks was at Delphi, the place of the Pythonian Apollo. In this sense the topes of Sanchi and Amravati may have represented *omphaloi*,—an idea which their form supports, as also that of the *dagobas* of Ceylon. Such a term in the plural may sound strange, but all eastern nations claimed to have the *omphalos* of the earth in their respective countries; the Greeks claimed more than one in Greece, with the islands. It symbolised the vitality of the earth.

Those who consider the greatness of Apollo arose from his destroying the python have overlooked that the Delphic traditions exhibit his humiliation and punishment as a consequence of such act. Anaxandrides, a Delphian writer, states that he was obliged to *serve* be-



cause he slew the python. The mythical celebration every eight years at Delphi supports this, the youthful representative of the deity having to flee to Tempe after the encounter, to be purified from the crime.

As my last remark on this part of my subject, I may point out that, irrespective of form, as well as sometimes in connection with it, localities, especially mountains and lofty places traditionally associated with the serpent and its worship, were held most sacred. The Acropolis at Athens, Mount Ithomé in Messenia, the two peaks at Delphi, and the lofty mount on the Plain of Lerna, with many others, were sacred to the serpent.

Before the Acropolis was truncated to make way for the Parthenon, it is probable that a natural or artificial representation of the man-serpent Erichthonius occupied the summit. The story of the daughters of Cecrops having to keep the ark or repository (κιβωτόν) in which the child Erichthonius was, from intrusion, and when, against directions, it was looked into, and the child was seen as part serpent and part human, and is also described as entwined in a serpent, seems exactly to agree with a serpent encased or enshrined in a serpent-like, *i.e.*, serpent-formed cave or chamber. It was a cave in the Acropolis that the Pelasgi were allowed to dwell in, and as they and the Etruscans appear to have migrated from the same locality, the serpent-decorations in the caves of worship of the latter must have been known to them.

It is not improbable that under the foundations of the earlier temple on which the Parthenon now stands, remains of such a cave-temple may still exist. I have examined the levels very carefully, and there must be some special reason for the great area the lofty flight of steps conceals.

Having been the first person to discover the serpent-carved remains at Pergamus,<sup>1</sup> which resulted in the Gigantomachia now at Berlin, I should feel very gratified if my suppositions as to the Parthenon were realised.

All nations attributed sacredness to mountains, and many considered them the abode of their deities. It is reasonable to suppose from this that when a mountain

<sup>1</sup> See my illustration of Mal-Tepe in *The Builder*, June 16th, 1877.

simulated the form of any object worshipped by the beholder, it would be looked on as a sacred impersonation. The repeated reference to "holy hills" in the Hebrew writings, the sacred hymns to mountains in the Vedas, and the Avesta, as appear from the following, support this.

Extracts from the *Ormazd Yasht*:—"The address to the Creator, the Bright, the Majestic, the Heavenly of the Heavenly, the Highest.—This mountain praise we, Ushi-darēna, bestowing understanding day and night." "The mountain Ushi-darēna, which bestows understanding, we praise by day and night with gifts brought amidst prayers."

From the *Aban Yasht*:—"The address to the Holy Zarathrustra in praise of Ardvî-cûra the Spotless, from the Creator.—O Holy One, the Mighty Armed. To *her* offered the snake Dahâka with three jaws" (the Ohio serpent has a triangular jaw), "in the region of Bawri (Babylon), a hundred male horses, a thousand cows, ten thousand small cattle", "on the top of the mountain", "Hukai-rya", "The mountain Alborj, which surrounds the world."<sup>1</sup>

From the *Khordah Avesta*.—"The mountain Raevanta, created by Mazda, praise we; the mighty, kingly Majesty created by Mazda, praise we." "The mountain Ushi-darēna, the kingly Majesty, the mighty, imperishable Majesty created by Mazda, praise we." "For the mountain Caōkeûta, created by Ahura for all Yazatas, Ahura Mazda the shining, the majestic; the mountain Caōkeûta, created by Mazda, praise we, all pure."

This name (spelled in the *Aban Yasht*, "Çaōka") is so like that of the enormous mound Cahokia (U.S.A.), that as pottery with the Buddhistic suastika on it was exhumed from a mound no great distance off, in Missouri, it seems to indicate intercourse from the East to America. The uses of the two mounds were the same.

In the Mahā Bhārata, Krishna teaches the tribe of Yādavas to adopt the worship of the mountain Govardhana, and to abandon that of the god Indra; and in the Ramayana, the "three-peaked hill" of Gangā's (Ganges) sacred stream is mentioned; and the "sacred chariots of

<sup>1</sup> In the Scandinavian mythology the serpent Jormungandre surrounds the world. Snake and mountain are sometimes synonymous.

the Holy Ones" were accompanied by the flashing glitter, "like lightning's glory", of "crested snakes". The Chinese, says Cambry, revere mountains because a dragon frequents them, called "the Father of Happiness." *They erect temples to him.*

This metaphysical personification of the mountains is supported by the oriental physical personification of mountains. Thus we find almost every part of the human body applied to simulating parts of mountains, as follows : head, ראש, *Rôsh* ; ears, אזנות, *Aznôth* ; shoulder, כתף, *Câthêph* ; side, צר, *Tsad* ; loins or flanks, כסלת, *Cislôth* ; rib, צלע, *Tsêlâ* ; back, שכם, *Shecem* ; thigh, ירכה, *Jarcâh* ; foot, רגל, *Regel*, etc. ; paps, as in Jura ; breasts, τιτθοι, *titthoia* ; Parnassus, etc.

But with these forms and impersonations, verbal and physical, are united in all the continents very remarkable but very similar traditions, habits, customs, and remains of occupation, as well as objects of art, all agreeing, with more or less uniformity, in the several localities.

Exhumations near serpent forms in America produced human skeletons of various epochs : some on layers of charcoal, some on trunks of large trees carbonised, and some surrounded with broken pottery and flint (chert) flakes, showing reverence for a long period, and consecutive burials by various peoples.

Excavations in a serpent-mound in the Pyrenees produced, among human bones, evidences of similar consecutive burials of different nationalities, each treating the previous interments with respect. The remains, now preserved in a local museum, were found in the following order, superincumbent each one over the next below it : mediæval with Latin inscriptions, early Christian, Merovingian, Roman, Gallo-Romanic objects ; and beneath all, rude, primitive Keltic pottery and flint flakes. The Christian votive objects are preserved by being built into the walls of a very ancient but small church erected *on the head of the serpent form*. This serpent guides over a difficult pass. Rites of elaborate ceremonial are still in use for the dead among the Pueblo people of Arizona, which are in exact conformity with the ceremonials detailed in a Scandinavian poem.

The large trunks of trees in the burials near serpent-



forms in America agree with the ceremony of burning the "split pine" in the Pyrenees, which ceremony I have seen performed on the serpent-mounds there. Serpent-ceremonials abound on both sides of these mountains, the Spaniards there having a proverb, "*No hay funcion sin Tarasca*",—no religious ceremony without the serpent.

From the customs I have seen with the split pine, the Maypole must have originated in similar rites.

I find in the vicinity of the serpent-forms I have discovered in Scandinavia, England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, very similar remains, traditions, and customs. Peculiar ceremonies are recorded up to recent dates, and the physical features of the localities agree.

Short as this brief outline is, from the necessary limit of space, one all-prevailing feature must be mentioned, or the subject will be undefined. In the vicinity of all serpent-forms, whether made or only identified with pagan worship, are caves, I have no doubt, for worship. I will enumerate some in the order I have followed. The great American serpent in Ohio overlooks the distant plains of Kentucky, where is the Mammoth cave. In China the vast sepulchres of the Ming Tombs form the caves to the Lung or serpent. In India the caves of Elephanta, Salsette, and Bamian, are really serpent-temples. There are similar excavations to the serpent-temples in Cambodia. At Pergamus, the large cave in my drawing in *The Builder*, June 16th, 1877; in Egypt (the mother country of serpent-worship), the subterranean labyrinth contained similar innumerable chambers; in Greece, the Corrycian Cave at Delphi; in Scandinavia, the various Jettestue. At the huge figure in Sussex the cave has been turned into a crypt; at Royston the cave is well known; at Sarphlé (place of the serpent), near Llangollen, is an excavated rock-cave.<sup>1</sup> In each case of the serpent in Scotland, as at Ach-na-Goul, where I excavated a large-built cave.<sup>2</sup> The tombs by way of "the dragon" form the caves in Persia; and this passage in the *Aban-Yasht* shows the purpose of the cave, and therefore its existence generally by such places: "Praise her, the pure

<sup>1</sup> "Results of a Ramble at Llangollen," *Brit. Arch. Journ.*, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Described in *The Times*, Oct. 17th, 1871. Also illustrated by me in *Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 19 May 1873.



Ardvî-çûra. To her offered the destroying Turanian Franraçê, *in a hole in this earth*, one hundred male horses, a thousand cows, ten thousand small cattle," etc.

The connection between the caves as places of worship, and the animal forms so worshipped, seems beyond question, as, where such forms are natural simulations, artificial caves, either by excavation or construction and subsequent earth-covering, have been formed; and where the caves are natural, the mounds or forms are artificial. In some cases the caves and formations are alike artificial.

What I have advanced as to the horizontal being an early stage of art hitherto overlooked, is manifest. Immediately the progress of art demanded proportion and correct similitude, it would present itself as it does to children making figures of sand. Easily capable of correction and alteration till these points were attained, both from position and material, it was really the parent of *basso-relievo*, which in stone or wood would first be worked horizontally, and then erected, as were the slabs from Nineveh and the mural sculptures of Egypt, faults being easily rectified before construction. The modelling and manipulation were those still used by sculptors. It was the parent of terra-cotta work. Such mounds of vast dimensions were described by ancient writers. Iphicrates mentions vast *dragons* in North Africa as *overgrown with vegetation*; Maximus Tyrius describes a sacred *dragon five acres long, and surrounded by a lofty wall*; Posidonius saw a *serpent* in Syria an acre long, into the mouth of which a man could ride on horseback; and others.

I was present on the animal-mounds in America with persons of English birth, of various social positions, who having emigrated in early life had acted in and been present at the clearing of the woods for agriculture, when such mounds were so revealed, large trees growing through them, proving their antiquity. These Englishmen told me that the Indians were so alarmed that their prior ignorance of them was beyond question.

I exhibit photographs of the serpent-mounds and forms from every continent, and from almost every country in the world.

## Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 74.)

WEDNESDAY, 29TH AUGUST 1888.

THIS day the members visited Torwoodhead Castle, the Tapock Broch, and several points of interest in and around Stirling. The party left shortly after nine o'clock, by train, for Larbert, and drove to Torwood. A short inspection was made of Torwoodhead Castle, a comparatively modern structure though in ruins, and of no special historical interest; and subsequently, after a walk of about a mile through the wood, Tapock Broch was reached. Several showers fell during the forenoon, but the weather on the whole was favourable, and the excursion throughout was much enjoyed. Tapock Broch attracted much attention, and was closely inspected by many of the members. Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Scot., when the party had gathered within the walls of the tower, read a paper referring to the structure, which will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

On the motion of Professor T. Hayter Lewis, F.S.A., seconded by Mr. R. Nesham, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Dalrymple Duncan for his paper.

The members then returned to the carriages, and drove to the village of Bannockburn. Here another halt was made, and the party ascended the hill to the flag-pole which marks the spot where the standard of the Scottish army is believed to have been planted at the battle of Bannockburn. From this point an extensive view of the famous battlefield is obtained, and the movements of the contending armies were graphically described by a resident.

Continuing the drive, Stirling was shortly afterwards reached, and luncheon was partaken of in the Royal Hotel. After luncheon, Mr. William B. Cook, of Stirling, read a paper dealing with the interesting features of the town, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Cook afterwards conducted the party through Greyfriars Church, in connection with which he pointed out that it was the scene of the coronation of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI. He also pointed

out "Mar's Work" as a remarkable building erected by the Earl of Mar, in 1570, with stones taken from Cambuskenneth Abbey after its destruction, drawing attention to its inscriptions.

Argyll's Lodge, believed to be one of the finest specimens of the old Scottish mansion-houses in existence, was also visited. It was built by the first Earl of Stirling, Secretary of State to Charles II.

The Castle was then inspected, and its numerous features and associations were pointed out. From the battlement over the Douglas Garden, Mr. Cook drew attention to the Cemetery referred to by the Marquess of Bute, which spoils the side of the Gowan Hills at the Ballingeich Road.

After leaving the Castle, the party returned to Glasgow, which was reached shortly after six o'clock.

The members met in the evening in the Corporation Galleries. Mr. Thomas Blashill was in the chair. Three papers were expected to be read this evening consecutively; but Dr. Bruce, who found himself unable to be present at the evening meeting which had been appointed for him, desired permission to read his paper also on this occasion.

The Most Rev. Archbishop Eyre read a paper on "The History of the Ancient See of Glasgow, A.D. 560-1560," which has been printed in the *Journal* at pp. 42-62.

Mr. J. Honeyman, F.R.I.B.A., proposed a vote of thanks to Archbishop Eyre, which Mr. Ewan Christian seconded, and the motion was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. Allan Wyon, F.R.G.S., Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals, then read a paper on "The Great Seals of Scotland." This paper also has been printed in the *Journal*, at pp. 95-111.

A vote of thanks was awarded to the lecturer.

Another meeting was held at the same time in another room, at which Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., presided.

Professor Veitch read a paper upon "Merlin and the Merlinian Poems", which has been printed in the *Journal* at pp. 123-30.

On the motion of Mr. Thos. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, seconded by Mr. W. G. Black, Professor Veitch was thanked for his paper.

Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce, F.S.A., then read a paper on "The Wall of Antonine", which has been printed at pp. 131-44. At the close the learned antiquary was heartily thanked for his paper, and the meeting terminated at a late hour.

THURSDAY, 30TH AUGUST, 1888.

The members devoted the whole day to an excursion which comprised a trip to Bute, and drives through the Island to the various objects of archæological interest for which it is famous. About a hundred members, many of them accompanied by ladies, left the Broomielaw at seven o'clock in the morning by the steamer Columba. Passing down the Clyde, in the lower reaches attention was directed to Newark Castle, Port Glasgow, Dumbarton Castle, and the site of the termination of Antonine's Wall, which formed the subject of the paper read on the previous evening by Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce. At Prince's Pier, Greenock, there was a considerable accession to the Congress party, whose numbers were now little less than two hundred. The weather in the early morning had been threatening, and when the steamer passed Kirn rain fell. There were one or two other showers in the course of the forenoon; but the weather afterwards cleared up, and bright sunshine prevailed during the rest of the day.

On arriving at Rothesay the party were conducted to the Castle, of which a careful inspection was made. The Rev. J. K. Hewison, F.S.A. Scot., addressed the members on the history of the ancient ruin. His remarks will be printed hereafter as a paper in the *Journal*.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, speaking of the architectural features of the Castle, said that the visitors were assembled in a building of peculiar interest as far as Scottish castles were concerned, for it was, perhaps, the oldest stone-built, mediæval castle remaining in Scotland. From its masonry they could trace that it was older than even Bothwell, which the Association had visited the other day. In it there were many signs of the gradation of one class of early architecture into another. The circular form of the court would be observed with interest. It would recall to the minds of those who were with them in Cornwall the Castles of Restormel, Launceston, and Trematon, which all showed peculiar local feeling. Here, far removed from those, was nearly the same peculiar form, but with four large circular towers, and of an earlier date, namely the middle of the twelfth century. The circular shape, in his opinion, in Cornwall was simply owing to a local peculiarity on the part of the builders who had the work in hand. But whence does the form come from here in Scotland? Is it derived from an earlier circular earthwork? As far as the masonry was concerned there was, on the inner face of the wall of the court, what they would call semi-Norman work in England, or somewhat earlier; but everything was later in Scotland, and he would fix the date at about the middle of the twelfth century. The line of the portcullis was worth



looking at, as showing how, when the Castle was rebuilt, the upper portion of the rebate for the portcullis was not continued. The latter arrangements were curious. They indicated that when the times were not troublous the owners abandoned the severity of the older work, and erected a castle more like a palace, with better, habitable rooms. The chapel was of the usual form, and that an early one. The staircase was external, and the tracery of the windows was very similar to that to be seen in the nave of Glasgow Cathedral, and also in the ruined chancel of Rothesay Parish Church.

When the company were leaving the Castle, the Rev. Mr. Hewison mentioned that the drawbridge over which visitors now passed into the ruin was constructed according to the original plan. It was placed on the top of the old oaken piles, which bore traces of having been burned down to the edge of the water in the moat, but which were quite sound below water-mark. A portion of one of the piles was exhibited.

The members were then driven to the ruined chancel of the ancient parish church, which adjoins the present building.

The Rev. Mr. Hewison stated that the visitors were assembled upon the site of the original Cathedral of the Isles; but in early times Bute and the neighbouring islands were subject to the episcopal jurisdiction of the Norwegian bishops, Trondheim in Norway being regarded as the cathedral city for these islands. The ancient parish church was dedicated to two saints. It was called the Church of Kilbrook; and the little chapel outside was dedicated to St. Mary, and was called the Lady Kirk or Kilmory. The old church was taken down first of all in 1692, and having been rebuilt stood until 1796, when it was again removed, and the present structure put upon its site. It was supposed that the chapel outside was the chancel of the old church. Some persons called it the choir; but he was not so sure that it was either of them. It measured 27 ft. 7 in. long by 17 ft. 8 in. wide, and it could easily be seen, from the style of architecture, that it dated from the thirteenth century, the time when the Stewarts of Scotland were apparently all-powerful in that place. The chapel was notable now for containing three beautiful effigies which lay there, he might say, in such disgraceful disfigurement. Grave controversies had been waged round them. The Marquess of Bute had shown the other evening that Robert II, for certain contingencies, had erected tombs up and down the country, and that this was supposed to be one of them. The tomb he referred to was the one on the south side of the chancel, where they saw the effigy of a warrior lying armed *cap à pie*. There were four theories with regard to the monument. The first was that it was the tomb of King Robert II; the second was that it was the tomb of King Robert III; the third was that it was the tomb of Sir John Stewart of

Bonkil, who was slain at Falkirk in 1298; and fourthly, it had been asserted, and he might say almost conclusively proved, that it was the tomb of the eighth Hereditary Grand High Steward of Scotland, Walter, who married Marjory, daughter of King Robert Bruce. The second effigy was believed to be that of Marjory, who was shown lying with her child in her arms. The third effigy was said to be that of Angus, Lord of the Isles, who died in 1210; but an examination of some Gothic lettering on the stone led him to believe that it was that of one of the Cumins who were intimately associated with the Island. The first notices of the place were found in the *Chronicles of Man*, where it was stated that Alan, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, was buried in the Church of the Blessed Mary at Rothesay. That was in 1320.

Speaking of other objects of antiquity round the place, the Rev. Mr. Hewison said that there was in the churchyard an ancient Celtic cross. At one time there must have been many of them. He thought so on account of the fact that there were dedications of no fewer than sixteen Celtic saints in the Island. The cross was cut out of a piece of micaceous schist, and was elaborately carved. Until two years ago it lay in the churchyard. The custodian then drew attention to it, and he (Mr. Hewison) had it repaired and set up. It was supposed to be the monument of Robert Wallace, one of the Bishops, who died in 1665. He was believed to have been connected with the great family of Wallace.

Mr. Hewison exhibited the ancient sand-glass of the parish church, which was purchased in the middle of the last century, for the purpose of timing the minister's sermon. It ran for forty-five minutes. He also showed an early printed Celtic Bible, a Testament, and a Covenantant's sword from the south of Scotland.

Mr. Honeyman made a few remarks, and Mr. Brock expressed a feeling of deep regret at seeing monuments so valuable and so historic as those they had just seen being left exposed to the action of the weather, and being apparently so little valued by the nation.

The party then inspected the Celtic cross which Mr. Hewison had found lying uncared for in the churchyard, and which he has now set up on a base near the chancel. There are also to be seen in this churchyard a tomb of one of the former suffragan bishops, and the mausoleum of the Bute family.

The members were then driven to Mount Stewart House, the seat of the President, the Marquess of Bute. They were received with the greatest cordiality by the Marquess and Marchioness, and entertained to luncheon in the marble hall. By command of the Marquess no speeches were made at the luncheon.

Afterwards the members drove to the ancient church of St. Blane,

past the standing stones of Lubas. At the chapel the Rev. Mr. Hewison said that it was dedicated to St. Blane, who lived in the sixth century, and was supposed to have been miraculously generated. It was Romanesque in form, and consisted of a nave and chancel. From examination of the ruins he had come to the conclusion that they were constructed on an earlier foundation. The eastern portion contained the remains of a building which had been erected at a period anterior to the Norman part of the chapel. Tradition pointed to a tomb near the wall as being that of St. Blane. It had been stated that it was the tomb of a young woman, but he dissented from this view. The chapel stood on the top of an artificial mound, and, strange to say, there was a passage between the higher and the lower ground, leading to what was now known as the Nunnery. It was not an ordinary parish church, but a monastery, and in the middle of the seventh century there was a complete monastic establishment there. Around the chapel there were many very fine Celtic stones, which had been figured in Stewart's work on sculptured stones. Among the stones was one to which there was not an equal in Scotland, an old millstone which had been converted into a socket for a cross.

Mr. William Galloway spoke of the structural features of the building, pointing out the differences between the early and the late styles of masonry, and how the earlier stonework was covered by Norman building, and then by even still later masonry.

Close to this edifice, on the side of a hill, are the remains, barely visible, of a circular structure known as "The Devil's Cauldron."

It had been intended to visit the vitrified fort of Dunagoil, but sufficient time had not been allowed, and only six members of the large party managed to reach the fort. Finally the party drove to Kilchattan Bay, where they embarked on the steamer Victoria.

On the way to Wemyss Bay votes of thanks were, on the motion of Mr. Brock, seconded by Mr. Black, accorded to the Rev. Mr. Hewison and the other gentlemen who had added to the success of the excursion. The city was reached at half-past eight o'clock, and no evening meeting was held, in obedience to the programme.

## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, 3RD APRIL 1889.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire," vol. xxiii, Part I; Part xlv. April 1889.

„ „ for "The Journal of the Royal Historic and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. viii. 4th Series. No. 77.

„ „ for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. x, New Series.

*To the Author*, for "Materials for Russian Archæology." By B. Raddoba. St. Petersburg, 1888.

*To the Rev. B. H. Blacker*, for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Part XLII. April 1889.

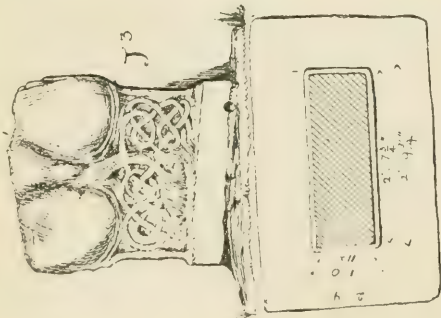
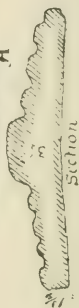
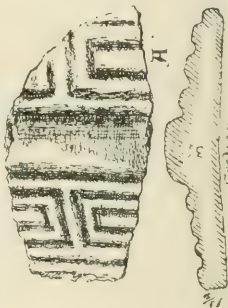
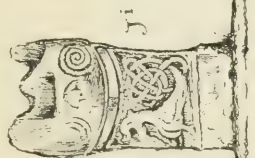
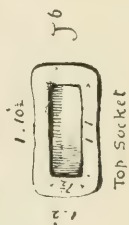
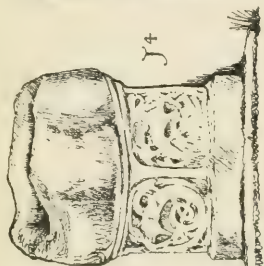
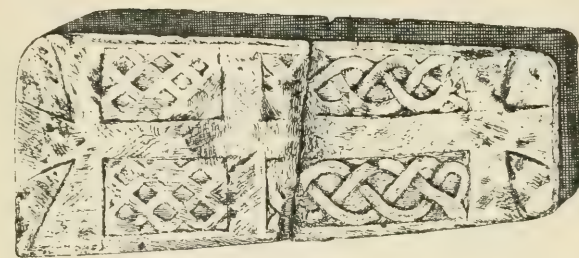
Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced the progress of the arrangements for the Lincoln Congress. He also announced that a resolution had been passed by the Council for preparing a memorial against the proposed demolition of the Church of St. Mary-le-Strand, London.

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent for exhibition a carefully drawn plan of Peterborough Cathedral, with the following notes :—"I send a drawing for exhibition at the evening meeting. It is of interest as it definitely decides the architectural question relative to the manner in which the eastern ends of the choir-aisles of Peterborough Cathedral terminated. That their form in Norman times was outwardly square, the remains above the roof of that structure known as "The New Building" had always testified ; but as the interior at present existing, though square, was only of late Early English or Early Decorated age, the question whether the original design was square also, or apsidal, had been often discussed. The present concreting of the floors of the aisles has completely settled the point, as the plan to half-inch scale shows, and, indeed, renders description unnecessary."

Mr. J. T. Irvine also exhibited an original charter, being a grant by







SCULPTURED STONES, ETC. PLATE I.

John Abelle of Caldewell to John Abelle, his son, of the moiety of a virgate of land in Caldewell (or Cauldwell, co. Derby), and sundry rents therein. Dated at Caldewell on Sunday next after the Feast of SS. Simon and St. Jude (28 Oct.), first year of Henry V (1413). The broken seal of arms is appended to the deed.

Mr. Brock exhibited a tray of coins of the Emperor Posthumus.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled "Sepulchral Rites of the Old World," by the late Mr. John Brent, F.S.A., of Canterbury, which will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*. In the discussion which ensued, Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., Mr. Brock, the Chairman, and others, took part.

### WEDNESDAY, 17TH APRIL 1889.

H. J. REID, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Gipsy-Lore Society*, for "Journal," vol. i, No. 4. April 1889.

*To the Glasgow Archæological Society*, for "Transactions," New Series, vol. i, Part III, and "Report of Council for Session 1887-8."

Mr. J. T. Irvine forwarded a selection from sketches of various fragments of Saxon work found in the immediate neighbourhood of Peterborough, which had previously been exhibited by him :—

"A. Fragment of a body-stone dug up in Maxey churchyard (compare with font from Penmon Church, Anglesey). Singular to say, a small remnant of the original British race must in this neighbourhood have preserved a continuous existence though beset on every hand by Gothic invasion and its accompanying local names, for the next parishes are Essendine and Tallington, akin to Pedwardine or Leintwardine, etc., and Talgarth, etc., on the Welsh borders.

"B, c<sup>1</sup>, c<sup>2</sup>. Fragments found used as wall-stones, during the rebuilding of the tower of Helpstone Church, and now preserved in front of the Rectory House.

"D<sup>1</sup>, D<sup>2</sup>. Fragments of Saxon crosses preserved in the garden of Mr. Sykes' house at Gunwade Ferry, near Milton. They are said to have come from Long Thorpe Church, but more probably came from Castor. Compare D<sup>1</sup> with that found at Bath, and engraved in the *Archæological Journal*.

"E. Stone of Roman date, now at Upton Farm (Mr. Tibbutt's), near Castor. Found during excavations by Artis, whose published representation of it is very incorrect. The top appears prepared to receive the socket of some other object.

"F<sup>1</sup>, F<sup>2</sup>, F<sup>3</sup>, F<sup>4</sup>. Views of the four sides of the lower part of a cross-shaft of Saxon date, preserved in the Hermitage Chapel, or so-called 'Cell of St. Pega' at Peakirk. The Abbey of Peakirk was abolished in the time of the Confessor. If of a date prior to that event, it most likely is of the date of King Cnut.

"G<sup>1</sup>, front; G<sup>2</sup>, back; and G<sup>3</sup>, G<sup>4</sup>, the edges of a cross preserved in Nassington Church. Compare with it cross at Aycliffe, Yorkshire, p. 260, *Archæological Journal* (Parker's vols.), vol. iii.

"H. Fragments of Saxon carving, most likely from the church erected by Bishop Æthelwold, about 972, at Medeshamsted; for this, with a stone holy water stoup, was found *below* the plaster-flooring of that Saxon abbey church, lately laid open below the present Cathedral.

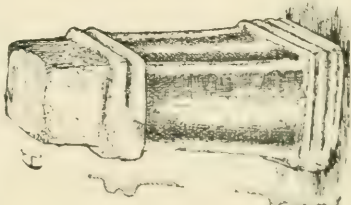
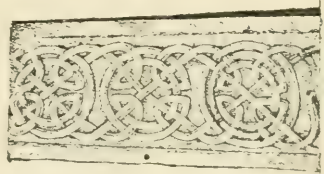
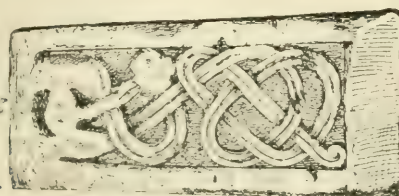
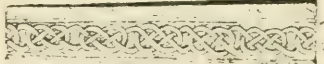
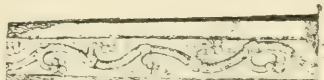
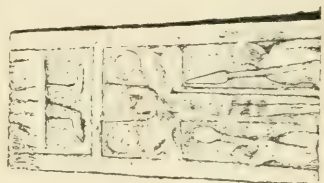
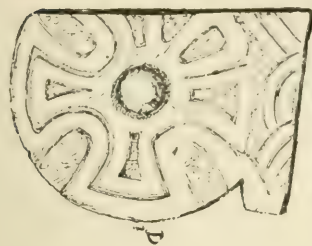
"I. Saxon body-stone discovered near the south-west pier of crossing at Peterborough Cathedral. No stone coffin existed below any of these Saxon slabs then found. The interment in every case had been in the earth only.

"J<sup>1</sup> and J<sup>2</sup>, ends; J<sup>3</sup> and J<sup>4</sup>, sides; J<sup>5</sup> and J<sup>6</sup>, plans of the base (all now left) of churchyard cross, Castor Church. This, with the so-called monument of Abbot Hedda at Peterborough Cathedral, and its other fragments in the wall of Fletton Church, are of the period of that fashionable return to a sort of embellished Saxon interlacing design which took place shortly before, and lasted some years after, 1100; to which date also belonged the cross from Nassington Church, given above; so also is that remarkable font at Melbury Bubb Church, in Dorsetshire."

A letter was read from Rev. Canon Routledge, F.S.A., in which some further discoveries at St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, are described. Three specimens of mortar accompanied the letter,—one from the recently investigated ancient west wall of the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, one with pounded brick from the walls of St. Martin's Church, and the third from the newly discovered portion of that building, of friable description. It was announced that these had been inspected at the previous Council meeting, when the opinion was expressed that all three specimens were likely to be of Roman date, particularly the first two.

Rev. Greville M. Lovett communicated a notice of a discovery beneath the Norman west front of Rochester Cathedral, in a letter to Mr. Irvine. Certain excavations have revealed the existence of foundations of an earlier building, upon portion of which the existing front stands. These foundations are those of a building of some considerable width, ending in a semicircular apse. The axis of the fabric does not correspond exactly to that of the present Cathedral, but is inclined to the left. The masonry appears to be, in the opinion of the writer, similar to the early Norman work of the Cathedral erected by Bishop





SCULPTURED STONES, ETC. PLATE II.



Gundulph; but from the plan being of a separate building so obviously, it was considered by the meeting that the foundations must be those of the earliest Saxon cathedral erected on the site.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a series of first brass coins of the Emperor Trajan in very fine condition. The reverses, for the most part, were illustrative of the Germanic wars.

Mr. J. T. Irvine reported the discovery of a curious sepulchral slab during the works now happily begun for upholding the ruins of Crowland Abbey, and exhibited a drawing showing the design of the slab.

Mr. A. S. Canham forwarded a paper descriptive of this find, which will be printed hereafter. The paper was further illustrated by a ground-plan of the Abbey Church ruins, showing the exact positions of the discoveries named.

A paper by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, on "Ancient English Heraldic Seals," was then read in his absence. It will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter. A large collection of impressions of the objects described was exhibited.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. E. Walford, M.A., referred to the wearing of badges in ancient Greek times, and quoted the description of the seven warriors by Æschylus, each of whom had his separate device.

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

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WEDNESDAY, 1 MAY 1889.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P., M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Hon. Treasurer, Thos. Morgan, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., read the Treasurer's Report and Balance-Sheet, which had been duly audited and compared with the vouchers by the Hon. Auditors.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING  
31 DECEMBER 1888.

It is with satisfaction that I present the accounts of the year 1888 with a balance, on 31st December, of £6 : 12 : 6 in favour of the Association, though we began the year with a deficit of £13 : 7 : 1, as appears by the Balance-Sheet which has been prepared by Mr. Samuel Rayson, the Sub-Treasurer, and duly audited.

# British Archaeological Association.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DEC. 1888.

### RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions . . .	£264	12	0
Life-compositions and entrance-fees . . .	18	18	0
	<hr/>		
Sale of publications . . .	283	10	0
Sale of Index, Vol. II . . .	33	9	3
Balance from the Glasgow Congress . . .	2	0	6
	103	8	1

### EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1887 against the Association	13	17	1
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> . . .	216	4	0
Illustrations to the same . . .	37	7	6
Miscellaneous printing and advertising	13	18	0
Cost, in part, of Index, Vol. II . . .	30	0	0
Delivery of <i>Journals</i> . . .	17	2	8
Rent for 1888, and clerk's salary . . .	71	13	0
Stationery, postage, and incidentals . . .	9	18	1
Fire insurance premiums . . .	5	15	0
	6	12	6
Balance in favour of the Association	<hr/>		
	£422	7	10

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

ROBERT EARLE WAY }  
ARTHUR G. LONDON } *Auditors.*

25 April 1889.



The proceeds of the Glasgow Congress have contributed an amount which has placed us in this improved position, for the annual subscriptions and compositions received have been considerably less, from one cause or another, than in the previous year; but as many subscriptions overdue remained unpaid, let us hope that this falling off in the receipts of the year may be made up in the next.

We have paid off £30 of the Index II printing account, and there remains rather more than the same amount outstanding, which we must endeavour to settle up in the current year.

Beyond this I have no particular comment to make on the Balance-Sheet, in which it will be seen that the disbursements have been on the scale reduced in late years to the most economical point, yet the *Journal* has been fully maintained both as to the number of contributors and the quality of the illustrations.

THOMAS MORGAN.

After consideration it was proposed by G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., that the Report and Balance-Sheet be adopted. This was seconded by Mr. Laxton, F.S.A., and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Birch's absence, through illness, prevented the presentation of the usual Secretaries' Report upon the work of the Society during the past year.

Messrs. Marriage and Rayson having been appointed Scrutators, the ballot-papers were presented to the members present, and the ballot for the officers for the ensuing year was then declared open for the space of half an hour, at the close of which the following result was announced:—

President.

THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

Vice-Presidents.

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON, D.C.L.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bart.; SIR JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.  
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.  
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The Hon. Treasurer read a *résumé* of two years' proceedings of the Association as follows:—

## RETROSPECT OF THE SESSIONS OF 1887 AND 1888.

BY T. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

Two years have elapsed since you kindly listened to my review of the antecedent session. With your permission I will now endeavour to recall the main features of the sessions 1887 and 1888, for the purpose of furthering the discussion of subjects brought latterly under our notice.

It is evident in these days that history, when recording human affairs, will no longer be satisfied with pictures of sudden leaps and transformations such as are permissible on a theatrical stage; but the changes being gradual, and more like dissolving views on an illuminated canvas, as they merge from one into another, must be studied step by step, and by patient investigation. This exegetic process has been forwarded in the case of our Association by the more than usually scientific spirit shown during the late sessions in the papers read and published, which either embody reports of new discoveries or reduce to a system the study of the old. The many objects of antiquity laid

upon this table at our evening meetings have also conduced to the same end.

If any one doubted that in ancient Hellas "*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*", such a sceptic was answered by Dr. Schliemann when he laid open the ruins of a city below Troy itself, and since then by his descriptions of the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ, where were buried the great men of nations, be they Phœnician, or Carian, or of indigenous growth, who were already old when the Trojan expedition set out. Mary C. Dawes, M.A. (*Athenæum*, Sept. 29, 1888), reports that all the land around Mycenæ was used as a place of burial, and the square, rock-cut chambers lately discovered, with more than one skeleton in each, seem to have been family mausoleums. The bodies had not been cremated, and from this circumstance, and from the numerous objects found in them, they are traced back to B.C. 2000.

We cannot claim so high an antiquity, but at least the many Roman and other remains unearthed have tended to systematise the chronology of events in this island since the beginning of the Roman occupation, and to show that, whether native or foreign, we have had Agamemnons here before William the Conqueror.

The study of sculptured stones of non-historic or *quasi*-historic times has thrown considerable light on the dawn of Christianity in the British Isles, and on the progress and state of society judged by advancing excellence in the arts. As to this I refer particularly to the elaborate papers, with illustrations, by Mr. J. Romilly Allen on the early Christian monuments of these isles. He divides those in England generally into periods dating between A.D. 400 and 700, and between 700 and 1100; the former with inscriptions in debased Roman capitals, or in the Celtic language, in Ogham characters; and the latter having interlaced work, key-patterns, and spirals bearing inscriptions in Irish minuscules, Saxon capitals, or Scandinavian runes. In the Isle of Man, he says, they all, with one exception, belong to the second of these classes. There is a long list of names, but none which can be identified with persons known in history. The peculiar Manx alphabet is common to the Western Islands of Scotland and the other portions of Great Britain conquered by the Norsemen.

Another paper, on early fonts, by the same author, follows up the subject with very interesting results. He has also given us, in conjunction with Mr. A. G. Langdon, a full account of early monuments in Cornwall, giving their geographical distribution and characteristics according to date, as in the former instances. The rude pillars and the wheel-crosses, with their variations, are here a distinctive feature. Mr. J. Romilly Allen has given the antiquarian world the benefit of his investigations in this field in a comprehensive work on Christian symbolism before the thirteenth century, and the conclusion he arrived

at seems to be that Christianity in Cornwall, as well as Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and the north of England, was introduced through Brittany from Gaul. He gives a full account also both of the memorials and history in Ireland and Scotland, and a summary of the specimens of Celtic stonework in England, in *Journal*, vol. xli, p. 343, tracing the progress very minutely through the first rude pillar-stones with only various forms of crosses incised upon them, which succeeded the Chi-Rho symbols. He then follows up these, and brings the whole to bear upon the early saints of Wales, the knowledge of whom in history, he says, is chiefly derived from lives written in the twelfth century. He associates memorials in Wales with the times of the following:—St. Dubritius, Bishop of Llandaff, A.D. 560-600; his successor, St. Teilo, together with St. Padarn and St. Cybi, contemporaries of St. David, who died in 601; St. Cadoc, who founded the Monastery of Llancarvan, in Glamorganshire, and was present at the Synod of Llandewi in 569; St. Iltutus, born in Brittany, and his name associated with Llantwit Major, in Glamorganshire, and stated to have lived at the beginning of the sixth century. He fixes the extreme limits of the duration of the Celtic Church from about the year 400 to 1100.

We have had the opportunity of visiting at our Congresses the following four crosses or pillars, which I will emphasise as interesting specimens of the later period of these monuments:—

1. The Pillar of Eliseg, near Valle Crucis, in North Wales, described by the late Mr. Bloxam in *Journal*, xxxix, p. 371. He calls this column the most remarkable *post-Roman* memorial stone in this country, and having inscribed upon it perhaps the earliest pedigree, that of Eliseg. It may be, he says, of the eighth century; but the column itself he considered to have come from some Roman building, perhaps from Deva or Uriconium. Though a small part only of the inscription remains, and that nearly illegible, the shaft having been broken, it originally consisted of thirty-one lines, transcribed by Mr. Edward Lhuyd in 1692.

2. The Carew Cross, in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, was described by Mr. Lynam in *Journal*, xli, p. 129; and the inscription upon it by Mr. W. de Gray Birch in the same volume, p. 405, who gives its meaning as “[The Cross] of the Sons of Ilteut [the Son] of Ecelt or Echwydd.” Mr. Allen considers it to be of the ninth century, from the ornamentation and details, which resemble the Llantwit Cross in Glamorganshire, on which also the name Iltet occurs.

3. Llanteglos Pillar or Obelisk, with interlaced work upon it and an inscription in the Anglo-Saxon language, was seen by us near Camel-ford in Cornwall, at the Rectory House of the Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, and it is described as possibly of the tenth century. The inscription is characteristic: “+ Ælself & Gengereth wrohte thysne sybstel for



Ælwyney's Soul & for heysel." Translated by Mr. Langdon: "+ Æl-selth and Genereth wrought this family pillar for Ælwyney's soul and for themselves."

I would venture to substitute for the words "family pillar", the monument of peace. The Anglo-Saxon *syb* (peace) and *stel* (monumental pillar) seem to be derived from the Greek; the latter word certainly from *στήλη*. It would, perhaps, be too far-fetched a derivation to suppose the A.-S. *syb* (peace) to be a corruption from *ἡσυχίης*. I would suggest that Æl-selth and Genereth had done some injury to, or perhaps killed, Ælwyney, and erected the pillar as a kind of atonement. In this case it would be an interesting example of penitence, the result of Christian feeling among a warlike people. The Cross of Copplestone, Devon, described in *Journal*, xxxiv, pp. 122-3, assigned to the date 901-940 A.D., has been judged, with good reason, to have been an expiatory monument for the murder of a bishop. Mr. R. E. Way has shown that the Coplestone Stone is mentioned in the land-boundaries of a charter of King Edgar, A.D. 974, of which he exhibited a facsimile.

4. The Danish Cross (so called) at Wolverhampton consists of the shaft of a column in the churchyard. It is circular, with Scandinavian style of ornaments, uncouth beasts and foliage running round it. It bears the impression on its sides, near the base, of having had fixed to it five stone canopies, to cover statues, presumably, of the four Evangelists and one other, which have caused the date to be assigned to a later period than the column itself indicates. But may not these statues and canopies have been later additions which have since disappeared, leaving only the marks where they were fixed, and the carvings appertaining thereto? If this is the case, the shaft may be of the earlier date implied by the reasoning of Mr. C. Lynam in his article on Staffordshire crosses in *Journal*, xxxiii, p. 439, in which he says "the capital alone might almost remove the work from the mediæval category, for its profile is certainly not Norman, but of classic type. The plan of shaft is simply cylindrical, and it has the classic *entasis*. The carvings are of most excellent workmanship, their designs of the highest artistic merit; and in my view there is a trace of classic feeling about the whole which would separate it from all mediæval work."

It will be seen that Mr. J. Romilly Allen makes the date of A.D. 1200 the final limit as to time of the class of remains above described, because he says in the thirteenth century an entire change took place in Christian art, which then ceased to be Byzantine in character, and became mediæval. In confirmation of his classification he compares the sculptures on stone with illuminated MSS. of the same date, and expresses surprise that "while early Celtic and Saxon MSS. are preserved with extreme care by those libraries which are fortunate enough

to possess any, the equally valuable monuments in stone of the same period are treated with utter neglect." To remedy this state of things Mr. J. Romilly Allen has expressed his views in a practical manner by proposing that a museum of Christian archæology should be founded in London, and in a paper on the subject has shown how this can be done, giving details of the scheme, and a plan of the proposed museum. Let us hope that the will and also the means may be found for carrying this project into effect.

Some obscure portions of history connected with the before mentioned localities have been commented on by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma of Newlyn, and especially as regards language, in his papers on "Wales and West Wales," and "Manx and Cornish, the Dying and the Dead." Like our friend and Associate, Mr. Thos. Kerslake, the well-known author of a pamphlet headed *Gyfla*, he seeks to penetrate the doings of the first Celtic inhabitants with the amalgamating Saxons, and both have brought out many interesting facts in illustration of their views. Our respected Secretaries have also read papers on these early times. Mr. W. de Gray Birch a second Part, with further legends of St. Nicholas, in Latin, and a paper on early notices of the Danes in England, from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and other sources; and on the site of the battle of Brunanburh, from a Cotton MS. of the tenth century. In the MS. the place is written "Bruningafeld"; but the name alone does not appear so important as the bringing of evidence from the course of history in support of the right spot. When the battle was fought, for which the dates 926 and up to 937 are variously given, Athelstan, the Christian monarch, was in strong force, partly by his own skill in amalgamating the Danish counties on the eastern coasts by the firm bonds of a united Christianity, and partly by the influence obtained over the western as well as other parts of the country by the skill and bravery of his two predecessors, Alfred the Great and Edward the Elder.

In proof of the amalgamating skill of Athelstan may be named the fact that in 927, Odo, a Dane by birth, was made Bishop of Wilton, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, 942-59. Sigfrid, King of Northumbria, had married the sister of Athelstan, and was to become a Christian, but he afterwards relapsed into heathenism, which was the prime cause of the war in the north, because the two sons of Sigfrid became very hostile. Olaf, one son, repaired to Dublin, and Godefrid, the other, to Scotland, where he was sheltered by King Constantine, contrary to treaty. Hence the heathen conspiracy against Athelstan, which was commenced by an invasion under Olaf, who sailed into the Humber with six hundred and fifteen ships, and presumably landed a large army. This could only be maintained on shore by dividing it over the country, and they would have found it necessary to co-operate

with their allies in the north, or at least not to depart too far from them, into the midst of an enemy's country in which Athelstan was very strong.

The latter, after concentrating his forces on the western coast, would proceed to meet the enemy perhaps as far north as Carlisle; therefore it seems probable that Ingulphus and others who have said that Brunanburh was in Northumbria, that is the country north of the Humber, were correct. The battle might possibly (though against evidence) have been fought at the Bromborough in Cheshire, suggested at the Liverpool Congress; but Somersetshire, as has been suggested by Mr. Birch, seems quite too far south. The similarity of names, that is "Bruningafeld" of the Cotton Charter, with Broomfield, is not of itself sufficient, for there is another Broomfield in Essex mentioned in a paper by Mr. J. M. Wood on two round towers of churches there, printed in vol. xlv of the *Journal*. There are also Bromfields and Bromboroughs elsewhere. There have certainly been creditable advocates for Somerset and Devon of ancient date; but if their accounts are analysed, it will be seen that the desire of the West Saxons to magnify their own part in the affair would be enough to account for their advocacy of places quite away from the scene of operations; for the signal defeat of the heathens at Brunanburh was an action to be proud of, exceeding any other in the history of the time.

The question of the sites has been ventilated in *The Athenæum*, July to December 1885. The letter of Jas. B. Davidson on p. 435, in which he quotes Florence of Worcester, copied by Simeon of Durham, Roger of Wendover, and *The Chronicle of Melrose*, shows that the battle could not have been fought in Devon or Somerset. The actions of the parties engaged render it probable that it was somewhere between the Humber and the western part of Scotland. The Humber was a convenient place of meeting to assemble the fleets of the allies coming both from Scotland as well as from the Baltic, and for collecting the forces of Northumbria.

Athelstan had certainly in 934 made an expedition into Scotland by the eastern coast; but on this latter occasion he was going to meet the enemy where they were assembled in great force, and for this reason one writer would place the battle in Dumfriesshire. In Durham county a site was also suggested at the Darlington Congress, and in Cumberland there is a Bromfield near Carlisle. Probabilities seem to be in favour of Northumbria, or somewhere north of the Humber; and the facts at our command are too few to affirm more than probabilities for the site of a battle which is likely to remain hidden in the darkness of a long night. The "Burnt Field", or the "Burg of Burning", may both have been poetical names, yet we cannot suppose the event itself to be a poetical myth. It is too well confirmed by contemporary circumstances and by authors of credit.

As to the death of Constantine, King of Scotland, in the battle, the poem quoted by Mr. Birch is likely to be correct, which says the son it was of Constantine who fell, but the father returned to his kingdom :

“ So there eke the aged  
Came by flight  
to his country north,  
Constantine,  
hoary warrior.

And his son he left  
on the slaughter-place  
mangled with wounds,  
young in warfare.”

As Olaf fled to Dublin, and his father-in-law, Constantine, to Scotland after their defeat, this is an additional reason for supposing the battle to have been fought in the north country, for if in the south they would probably not have escaped with their lives.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, has contributed further information on sculptured stones with interlaced work, more particularly on those seen at the Darlington Congress and across the border, in a paper illustrated by many drawings and photographs ; but I am carried out of chronological order from old Roman times, which should have come first, and especially as this period has been copiously dwelt upon in various papers during the last two sessions.

First and foremost are those by Sir James Picton on the Walls of Chester, with drawings of the masonry, including that Roman portion of the north wall with cornice ; particularly interesting to our Society as having been originally produced in evidence by Mr. C. Roach Smith forty years ago, figured in vol. v of the *Journal*, and further described at length in vol. ii of his *Collectanea Antiqua*. He has also taken part in the new controversy, and I can add nothing to what has been already said.

The publication of a record of the sculptured Roman stones taken out of the wall, by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, has added some names of soldiers and officials of the 20th Legion not before known, as the Prefect of the Camp, a Syrian by nation, and an important personage. I have endeavoured to furnish some particulars of the history of this legion, quartered at Chester, from consular denarii which refer to its antecedents, and have drawn attention to the perfected text of the Barberini inscription from the demolished triumphal arch of the Emperor Claudius in Rome, with an engraving of the stone.

There has been a discussion as to the modern river to represent the Anton of Tacitus, which he describes in the same sentence with the Severn, as girt about with forts. The Anton is generally translated



Avon, of which name there are two rivers falling into the Severn,—the one at Tewkesbury, and the lower one at a point not far from Bristol. The only apparent reason that the Nen, in Northamptonshire, has been taken for the Anton, is from the name of the county supposed to be derived from it, that is North Anton, while Southampton is the most southern Anton; and looking at the course of events (as far as we know them) it is more probable that one of the three more southerly rivers was the Anton rather than the Nen, which was beyond the actual scene of the war.

The Dobuni of Gloucestershire had submitted to Aulus Plautius; Ostorius, his successor, was proceeding against the Silures in South Wales, and to secure the territory already acquired he would be likely to fortify such heights of the Severn as would control that river. The southern counties of Dorset, Wilts, Hants, and the Isle of Wight, had been subdued by Vespasian in his younger days, after he had been appointed to the command of the 2nd Legion by the Emperor Claudius himself.

This lowest Anton of the three, which falls into the Southampton Water, is still called by the ancient name of Anton in part of its course; and Mr. Birch considers this latter to bear the palm, both from its name, and because the heights from which and through which it flows will answer well to the “*cinctos castris*” of Tacitus. Either of the three lower rivers would suit the events. (See *Journal*, xlv, p. 193.)

The Rev. R. E. Hooppell had given us some account previously of the interesting ruins of Vinovia, near Binchester. He has now added to this a more detailed description, in two parts, of their present state, illustrated by drawings to scale; and an account of the hypocaust, which is so large and lofty that a man may stand upright between the piers, and perambulate the recesses. This Roman town, like others, has furnished a supply of worked stones for building in mediæval times; and the small church of Escombe, two miles off, has been constructed from materials drawn from hence.

This station was on the main north road of the Itinerary of Antoninus, No. 1. Southward the road seems to have crossed the Tees at Greta Bridge, though no station is marked upon the *Iter*; but a camp and a large number of Roman antiquities found here have been carefully described by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth.

Twenty-two Roman miles south of this is Cataracton, near Richmond; and the church of Catterick is built on the site of a Roman camp. This spot is particularly interesting as being on Ptolemy's meridian of London, and from whence his observations in latitude were taken for this part of the country. Here two roads of the Itinerary separate.

We have had a paper on the ancient roads of Durham by J. W. East-

wood, M.D.; and Mr. Geo. Payne, who has long made the antiquities of Kent his study, has given us a paper on the old roads of that county.

Our Associate, Mr. John Harker of Lancaster, has furnished a further notice of antiquities, and of the consecrated Well there. These show the importance of a place in Roman times, which has been identified in mediæval history, through its name and castle, with some of the most interesting events, and with the title of John of Gaunt and his dynasty, so long in antagonism with the rival house of York.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, whose notices of the city of Lincoln have been on more than one occasion recorded in the *Journal*, has given an account of Roman remains at Filey, where he considers there was a good harbour in Roman times, and where Roman remains have been found. He gives his opinion on some controverted points upon which light may be thrown by the masonry of a building lately uncovered, if the excavations are followed up. His visit to the distant Caithness and Orkney this year has resulted in a paper with original information from his pen, illustrated by a number of photographs and drawings of the antiquities described.

A Roman villa has been discovered in Gloucestershire, on the Tockington Park estate, situate half a mile east of the highway leading from Bristol to Gloucester, known as the Ridge Way. A portion, of about a yard square, was laid open in 1787, but very little notice was taken of it, and it was soon forgotten. Twenty-three rooms and corridors have now been brought to light since excavations were begun in August 1887. One of these rooms has a fine pavement of about 18 ft. 3 in. square, and other fragments of pavements have also been found, as well as many worked stones of considerable interest. The villa being as yet only partially explored, further discoveries may be expected. I am indebted for this account to the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society* for 1887, wherein will be found coloured plates of the pavements, etchings of the worked stones, and plan of the works.

Roman antiquities may be summed up with Mr. W. de Gray Birch's description of the latest portion discovered of the baths at Bath. He has crowned his description with the welcome intelligence that through the labours of the Society of Antiquaries this portion has been saved from destruction, or at least from obstruction, by rendering it accessible for future inspection, notwithstanding the new works which have to be undertaken in and above it.

Following Roman events, we are carried in time to the point whence we set out, that is to the early days of Christianity. The Rev. R. C. Jenkins has well illustrated this period by a description of his own church at Lyminge in Kent, which he attributes to the time of St. Dunstan, after the suppression of the older religious house in 965, and

out of the *débris* of this building the present church was built. The ancient one had been ruined by the Danes in 804. Its foundations, however, have been exposed to view, and were seen on the occasion of our Congress at Dover. They form an oblong figure parallel to the parish church, on the north side, and a short distance from it, presenting several peculiarities. There are two apses, one on the east, the other on the west, and the Canon, on the authority of Sir Gilbert Scott, describes them as of two dates, the western portion being of an entirely different character from the eastern, and a cross-wall separates one part of the church from the other. The eastern portion he attributes to St. Ethelburga (called also St. Eadburg), who received the veil here from Archbishop Honorius in A.D. 633, when she became Abbess of the Convent, and was here interred. This was, with possibly one exception, the first convent for women established in England. The eastern portion of the building is formed of stones of large size, many of them being a yard or more in length, set in solid concrete of lime and pebbles. The western portion of the foundations seems to belong to an even earlier church erected by the original labour of Roman believers, and conformed to the model of a western apsidal sanctuary with aisles terminating squarely. Ethelburga, daughter of King Ethelbert of Kent, was betrothed here, and married to King Edwin of Northumbria in 627, and in 633, after her husband's death, retired with Paulinus into Kent, having passed six years of a chequered life in the world to spend the remaining fourteen in seclusion and prayer. Canon Jenkins has given us the annals of Lyminge Church and estates chronologically, which throw light upon English history in general.

The transactions of the early church are interwoven with those of Northumbria through St. Wilfrid, whose life, read at the Darlington Congress, has been given, with the surrounding details, in the *Journal* by Mr. J. P'Anson. Queen Ænflæda, daughter of St. Ethelburga, seems to have been a useful coadjutor of St. Wilfrid. Mr. J. P'Anson has fully related the circumstances connecting this Bishop with the churches of Ripon and Hexham until his death at Oundle in Northamptonshire.

A discovery was reported on the 6th of March, through Mr. Brock, by Canon Routledge, of a wall in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, which is found to be of earlier date than the Norman portions which are partially built upon it. The hardness of its mortar and other indications lead to the supposition that the wall is of Roman date, and part of the ancient church which St. Augustine found on the spot on his arrival at Canterbury.

Dr. J. W. Eastwood has connected Sockburn and Dinsdale with Roman times through their ancient church history. Other interesting memorials of churches have been given by various members.



The Rev. H. C. Lipscombe contributes a paper on Staindrop Parish Church, Durham, which he calls the church of the Nevilles, the annals of which powerful family he gives, and shows that the first wife of the great Earl of Westmoreland, Joan Swinford or Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, erected a college on the north side of the church.

The Rev. Arthur M. Chichester, Vicar of St. Mary's, Sandwich, has given an account of his own most interesting church, together with that of St. Clement, in this ancient town of Kent. In the latter church is an early carved tympanum over the little belfry-door.

The Church of St. Mary is said to have stood on this spot as far back as the year 640, and to have been injured by the Danes, and restored by Queen Emma, the wife of Canute. The Vicar says the ruined columns of the first arches of the Norman nave remain at the west wall, and two perfect rows of Norman bases were found in a line with them, below the present floor.

Mr. C. Aldridge has told the story of Birkenhead Benedictine Priory, visited at the Liverpool Congress. He tells us it was founded by Hamon de Massey, third Baron of Dunham Massey, in about 1150, and considers it to have been an independent foundation, and not affiliated to the Benedictines of St. Werberg, Chester.

The Rev. Andrew E. P. Gray has given an interesting account of the origin of Christianity in Wirral, that peninsula between the Mersey and the Dee, the history of which is associated with our ancient hero of Glasgow and of St. Asaph, St. Kentigern, otherwise called St. Mungo, also with the Norwegians and their fellow countrymen in the Isle of Man.

The Hon. and Rev. G. T. O. Bridgeman, Rector of All Saints, Wigan, has described his church as one of the oldest foundations in the kingdom; but he says the only ancient part of the present building is the tower, an immensely solid structure, the walls being 6 ft. 6 in. thick in one part; but much of it has been encased with stone and cement, which prevents its being seen. The Rector considers that the tower in early times was used as a fortress in times of danger.

Another church with specially interesting features in itself and in the ancient stones built up in its walls, has been described in an exhaustive paper by Mr. J. P. Pritchett, Hon. Secretary to the Darlington Congress. The Church of St. Peter-at-Croft, on the Tees, has enabled the writer to follow its history from the supposed first foundation as a small chapel or oratory on the site of a Roman temple, in the times, perhaps, of Benedict Biscop and St. Wilfrid, if the sculptured stone engraved in the *Journal* was connected with this early foundation. The stone had formed part of the shaft of a cross with all the characteristics of seventh century work. Ruined by the Danes, Mr.



Pritchett considers the present church may have been rebuilt or restored in about 1075. In the wall is also a stone having on it a Romano-British sculptured figure, pronounced to be such on the authority of Mr. C. Roach Smith.

Mr. Pritchett follows up the history of the church to the times of Sir John Clervaulx (he died in 1443), who married a daughter of the great house of Lumley of Lumley Castle. This match brought the Clervaulx into relationship with the royal family, both York and Lancastrian branches.

A good introduction to the mediæval period are Mr. Walter de Gray Birch's historical notes on the original document known as the Will of King John, which he had previously laid on the table at an evening meeting; and an autotype photograph of this famous state paper is given in the *Journal*, vol. xliii. Though called a will, it is an instrument made when the King was *in extremis*, to empower a commission to execute his wishes; and Mr. Birch has given a short account of each of the thirteen counsellors, lay and ecclesiastic, who signed the document, and were appointed to carry out its provisions. Their names will call up many a reflection on the events of the day, and on the statements and counter-statements made upon the acts of this unfortunate King, and will help to correct several popular errors concerning his latter end. Mr. Birch has quoted the late Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps for exposing the false statement in a MS. known as the "Brute Chronicle", wherein the King is reported to have died of poison at Swineshead Abbey, though in another part of the same document he is said to have died at Newark Castle, which is the truth, and the poisoning is not confirmed by contemporary evidence. Shakespeare, therefore, took the popular view in fixing the death of the King by poison at Swineshead Abbey. Mr. Birch has also given an extract from the King's itinerary for the month of October 1216, the last of his life, in which are named many places in the neighbourhood of the proposed headquarters of our Congress this year. The month begins with Lincoln, and ends with Newark-upon-Trent.

Our old Associate, Mr. C. Lynam, has furnished us with an account prepared with his usual care, and accompanied by plans, elevations, and sections, of the remaining walls of the Cistercian Nunnery of White Ladies, Staffordshire.

Two papers, the outcome of the Darlington Congress, will be read with interest as giving full details of historical sites and of the characters who have figured in them. The Rev. J. F. Hodgson has described Raby, "the cradle of the mighty Nevilles", carrying up its origin to the time of Dolfin, son of Uchtred, and the Earls of Northumbria, from whom it descended to Fitz-Maldred, "Dominus de Raby" in the thirteenth century. The buildings, however, he says carry us no further

back than the second quarter of the fourteenth century, when the owner was Ralph Neville, famous at the battle of Neville's Cross. It is an Edwardian castle of the fourteenth century, complete in all its parts, without apparently any earlier work or later alteration, and the "largest castel of loggings in all the north country" in Leland's time. Of the two remaining towers, that on the west of the south front, now called the "Duke's Tower", was formerly named "Joan's", from Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, and second wife of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland. A barbican, or advanced gateway, seems to have been destroyed in modern times. It had sculptured on it the great bull of Neville, as appears by an old plate, carrying the banner of their arms and the shields of John Neville and his first wife, Maude Percy.

Mr. Hodgson has shown the appearance of the Castle in 1720, from a print reproduced in the *Journal*. A further account of Raby is given by Mr. J. P. Pritchett, who has been very circumstantial in the history, with ground-plans of the works of the Nevilles round Darlington, and has placed before us the Castles of Brancepeth, Middleham, Sheriff-Hutton, Barnard Castle, and Snape Castle; the latter interesting as having been the residence of Catherine Parr when married to her second husband, John Neville, Lord Latimer. Each castle is a picture calling up some event in the Wars of the Roses, and Mr. Pritchett has prominently brought forward the many conspicuous names which have shed lustre on the house of Neville.

Anticipating our visit to Scotland, Mr. H. Syer Cuming favoured us with a paper on "Relics and Mementos of Mary Stuart", arranged to present an outline of her life. He referred also to several notices of various portraits of the Queen scattered through the pages of this *Journal*. The interest in this subject has been extended by the large exhibitions of pictures, relics, and memorials of Queen Mary at Glasgow last year, and this year in London.

The archæological notes sent us from Havre and Normandy by our old correspondent, M. Charles Roessler, announce discoveries at Lillebonne, Fécamp, and elsewhere, with a curious account from a contemporary MS. of the numbers and quality of the soldiers in garrison at Harfleur in 1423, and description of Gaulish and Roman coins found in the valleys around. He has informed us that the fine Roman pavement found at Lillebonne, and described in our *Journal*, vol. xxvi, has been sold for £320 to the Museum of Rouen.

The miscellaneous subjects upon which papers have been written need not enter into my classification. They have a special interest of their own which will fix the attention of the reader, and the same may be said of the exhibits at the evening meetings; but among these latter may be named a hoard of bronze celts shown by Rev. Preb. Scarth, a

thick green glass vessel found in a stone coffin of the Saxon period, and numerous Roman and other remains found at Peterborough, as well as many drawings of objects of interest in the neighbourhood, by Mr. J. T. Irvine, who has also given a description of a prehistoric flint instrument in the possession of the Dowager Marchioness of Huntly, found on the Huntingdonshire bank of the river Nen. A boxwood model of the ring of Earl Orme, A.D. 942, now in the British Museum, was exhibited by Mrs. Tyzack; Etruscan horse-trappings and many miscellaneous objects collected during his last tour to Egypt and elsewhere, by Mr. W. Myers; Roman sword from Hampshire, by the Rev. Canon Collier. A beautiful female head, of small size, in marble, found in the bed of the Walbrook, London, and considered to be Roman, was exhibited by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. A Roman horseman in bronze, of small size, by Dr. Walker, found near Peterborough. A drawing of a sculptured Roman stone found at Carlisle, of much interest, figured in the *Journal*, was exhibited by Mr. R. S. Ferguson. Mr. J. W. Grover has not forgotten to exhibit, from time to time, miscellaneous collections of Roman antiquities, to which his researches have so long been directed. Coins from Nero to Constantius, a vase, two water-pipes, part of a *mortuarium*, jug-handle, and glass bottles of various forms, besides miscellaneous relics from Mint Street, Southwark, and other localities, were produced by Mr. R. Earle Way. Drawing of a Roman *statera*, or steelyard, from Bainesse, near Catterick, Yorks., by the Rev. R. E. Hooppell; Babylonian tablets of the fifth and sixth centuries, B.C.; gold earrings and many miscellaneous exhibits throughout the session by Mr. Cecil Brent; photographs of the Croft Cross by Mr. P'Anson; and photos. of Roman remains at Trèves and many other places by Mr. T. Blashill. Miss Kilner showed a Cingalese MS. written on palm-leaves; and Mr. W. de Gray Birch a plate of inscriptions from St. Michael's Church, Coventry. Rubbings of monumental brasses in Hants, by a new method, were exhibited by Mr. H. D. Cole of Winchester. Among them was one to John de Campeden, Master of the Hospital of St. Cross, 1382-1410. Finally, Mr. A. Wyon brought a medal, by John Roettier, of the Peace of Breda, 1667.

Upon the whole, the two sessions have shown considerable archaeological activity, and it is probable that the Congress about to be held at Lincoln this year will prove equally illustrative of past history. Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., our Congress Secretary, assures us that such will be the case, from the influential support and assistance promised in the neighbourhood, and the well known interest attaching to that ancient Cathedral city and its surroundings.

This retrospect must not be closed without a passing reference to the many respected Associates whose names appear in the obituary of

our *Journal*, and who during a length of years have cheered our meetings, and enlightened our proceedings with their stores of knowledge, but have been taken from among us during the past two years. They have passed away, but the remembrance of them will not soon pass away.

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The following resolutions were then carried :—

It was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by T. Morgan, Esq., that a hearty vote of thanks be rendered to the Marquess of Bute for his services as President during the Glasgow Congress and through the year.

It was proposed by G. R. Wright, Esq., seconded by W. Laxton, Esq., that the best thanks of the Association be accorded to T. Morgan, Esq., for his services as Treasurer during the past year. Carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Honorary Secretaries, W. de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., and E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., was then agreed to unanimously, on the proposition of Thos. Morgan, Esq., F.S.A., seconded by C. Brent, Esq., F.S.A.

The Auditors were then especially thanked for their services. Proposed by E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq.; seconded by G. Patrick, Esq.

It was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Howlett, F.S.A., that a vote of thanks be accorded to G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., for his services as Congress Secretary. This was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. Wright, in replying, referred to the active arrangements which have been already made for the Congress at Lincoln in July, and which will, he hoped, ensure the success of the meeting.

A vote of thanks to the Rev. S. M. Mayhew was agreed to on the proposition of E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., seconded by W. H. Cope, Esq., F.S.A.

This was put to the meeting by T. Morgan, Esq., F.S.A., and after the Chairman had responded the proceedings came to a close.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH MAY 1889.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Matthew Bulloch, Esq., of Bothwell Street, Glasgow, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—



To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association. April 1889. 5th Series, No. 22.

" " for "Archæological Journal," vol. xlv, No. 181.

" " for "Transactions of the Burton-on-Trent Natural History and Archæological Society," vol. i, 1889.

To Andrew Oliver, Esq., for a Plate of Rubbings of Brasses at Cobham and Cowfold.

To Walter R. Skinner, Esq., for "The Mining Manual," 1889.

The death of the Rev. Scott Surtees, lately elected to the Council, and that of the Rev. Canon Moore of Spalding, were announced, and received with regret.

The visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association to London was announced by Mr. Brock, who said that the visitors would be specially welcomed by the British Archæological Association on that occasion.

Mr. J. R. Allen, F.S.A.Scot., explained the programme of that Society's visit.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., gave further details of the Lincoln Congress. Mr. Wright also exhibited a collection of miscellaneous antiquities belonging to the late Mr. Wm. Smith, and now to his daughter, Mrs. Wright, viz., three Etruscan vases of red and black ware; a Roman lamp, Venus chastising Cupid; pieces of relief ware; Samian *mortarium* with lion's head spout; Roman bronze fibula; two handles, Etruscan cylix; and flat Egyptian bottle.

Mr. Roope also exhibited two Greek vases,—one with women pouring out a libation; the other has an ivy-leaf scroll on the shoulder.

Mr. Brock exhibited a drawing of a Roman terra-cotta relief found in excavations not far from the Roman camp at St. Catherine's, near Christ Church, Hants. The subject is a helmeted warrior resting the left foot on a low stand or pedestal.

Mr. Andrew Oliver's present of rubbings from brasses from Cowfold and Cobham was described by Mr. Brock.

Mr. W. de G. Birch exhibited Mr. Pritchett's careful drawing to scale of the Clervaulx tomb in Croft Church, Durham.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper on "The Battle of Brunanburg," which will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter. In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Allen, Mr. Brock, Mr. Birch, and Mr. Wright, took part.

Mr. J. Mathews Jones, of Chester, exhibited drawings of sections of other excavations at the Wall of Chester, west of North Gate. These are of the highest interest to the controversy still existing as to the age of the Walls.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH JUNE 1889.

W. H. COPE, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Christopher Lethbridge Cowland, Esq., St. John's, Launceston, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, 1888-9," vol. xiii, Part I.

" " for "Pemátky Archaeologicke a metopisné." V. Prazé. 1889.

" " for "Geschäfts-bericht welcher in der General-Versammlung der Gesellschaft des Museums des Königreiches Böhmen am 10 Februar 1889, vorgelegt wurde." Prag, 1889.

" " for "Newbury District Field Club, Rules, and Excursion to Penshurst," 1889.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a drawing of, and read notes on, some recently discovered Roman remains at the Croydon Sewage Farm, Beddington, Surrey.

Mr. Brock also announced the discovery of a Roman pottery-kiln in a wood near Botley, Hants, which the Rev. Canon Collier, F.S.A., desired to communicate to the Association. The inside is highly glazed or vitrified. The bricks are  $8\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., and 2 in. thick. Roman pottery has been found in an adjacent field, and other Roman remains have been found about a mile away. Small pieces of charcoal were picked up near the kiln.

Mr. C. H. Compton drew attention to a recent exposure of part of the Roman wall of London on the south side of Ludgate Hill, and Mr. Brock stated that further portions were likely to be revealed during the progress of excavations now going on there.

Mr. A. G. Langdon exhibited rubbings of sculptured stones in Cornwall : 1, a Saxon "coped" stone, 7 ft. 6 in. long ; 2, the Pendarves Stone.

Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a large collection of antiquities recently brought by him from oriental and other sites. Among them were a string of Roman paste-beads, ditto Egyptian, a small terra-cotta vase, a pair of fibulæ, a bronze ring with a bee on the shoulder, two plaques, one vase-handle, one ornament, one Egyptian Osiris, one hieroglyphic ring of the thirteenth dynasty, one porcelain jar-handle, one stone bust, one stone Horus, one terra-cotta fish, one wooden box, one bronze instrument, one string of blue beads, one stone knife, one

silver urn, one stone amulet, five large chevron-bands, one stone vase, one weight, and one plaque.

Mr. Myers also exhibited an illustration of the newly discovered column at the back of the Pantheon at Rome, showing the remarkably beautiful character of the carved capital.

Mr. Brock described the further progress of arrangements for the Lincoln Congress.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a photograph of the Anglo-Saxon charter of King Edward the Confessor to Coventry Minster, and read a short paper on it.

Mr. Birch also exhibited an impression of the present seal of the Dean and Chapter of Llandaff, communicated by Mr. R. W. Griffith of Cardiff. The design is apparently a quaint reproduction of the twelfth century seal in the British Museum, which was shown to the Congress members of the Cambrian Archæological Association during their recent meeting in London.

Mr. Birch also read a communication from Mr. J. T. Irvine of Peterborough, showing that part of the remains of the apse which terminated the north aisle of the choir of this Cathedral has been seen since sending up the plan of that found at the east end of the south choir-aisle. Both plans correspond. A very richly carved cap to a square pilaster of considerable size was found used as a building stone in such foundation-wall. The carving is remarkably bold, and very classic in treatment. It retains thick coats of a whitewash received prior to 1116, and belonged probably to the works of Abbot Ernulph. The striking contrast of work so richly carved as this is with the sternness everywhere present in the later Norman work of the existing church is remarkable.

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## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*The Ancient Town of Warton.*—Carnforth,<sup>1</sup> North Lancashire, with its dilapidated sacred buildings,—part of the Gothic ruins ivy clad and neglected,<sup>2</sup> a portion used as the clerical residence, and part used as the parish church of the district,—is at present exciting a certain amount of public interest. Repairs, long needed, to the roof and clere-story of this Warton parish church are being executed; and not merely locally, but in America, attention directed to the lovely spot, situated under the towering crags of mountain limestone; for in the hamlet there is, it appears, a residence named “Washington House”, and it has always been stated that the Washington arms were to be found on the western front of the church tower. Armorial shields, carved in relief, exist east and west of what was formerly the main entrance at the base of this tower,—an entrance now blocked by accumulated rubbish, and a window inserted into the upper part, and its interior used as a modern vestry. These shields have been pointed out as Washington shields to visitors; but they are quite plain, that is, without carved device of any kind; and even if originally painted, every vestige of design has disappeared. It was only on the falling from the tower-front of the church of a considerable flake of modern rough-cast cement that the true Washington shield appeared to view with its bearings perfect, namely, *argent*, two bars *gules*, in chief three mullets of the second;<sup>3</sup> as supposed, the foundation of the American national ensign, the stripes and stars.

On Whit Tuesday, whilst visiting the old church, and especially examining the tower (which to me seems to need careful repair, so as to take care of the architectural treasures that have been spared to this period), the intelligent parish clerk, G. Tatham, asked an opinion as to a device carved on the lintel of the entrance from the tower-stair to the belfry. As one enters the belfry, one sees the design on looking up. The position is such as to render it not at all likely that it could have been carved after the structure was built, for it is fatiguing

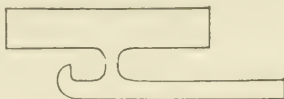
<sup>1</sup> Formerly Kerneford.

<sup>2</sup> Last used as a tithe-barn.

<sup>3</sup> The shield is of beautiful form. The tinctures are not depicted, as is usual in carved shields of the base period in heraldry. The device in chief seems to me neither to be of the character of the mullet, or mullet of six points, but resembles crosslets. I see no indication of a crescent for difference, unless it be a blemish indentation in the honour-point of the shield; for Lucas refers to it, and says, *argent*, two bars *gules*; in chief, three mullets of the second, with a crescent for difference.



merely to look up at the device. The representation resembles, I think, a hatchet with broad blade and slender support and shape. The design is poorly drawn and executed. It reaches about two-thirds



across the roof of the entrance-passage, and is of this form. To me it seems to be such a device as masons were wont to execute, that is, quaint and significant badges of personal remembrance,—say a hatchet for Hatch; for in the days of old men worked not merely for their pay but for fame, and had pleasure in their handicraft, and took pride in it. Or it has a wider significance, for ancient objects of veneration were frequently made use of for sacred purposes in changes of outward religion during the upward intellectual progress of our own race; and this lintel-stone with its curiously formed hatchet has possibly been used in the so-called pagan period for devotional purposes. If so, it is not the only one, for in the Duke of Sutherland's Museum at Dunrobin there is a stone cross finely carved with Celtic fretwork; yet on the opposite side of the stone it has rude sacrificial representations of the Druidical period.

JOHN HARKER.

*The Church Bells of Suffolk*, by JOHN JAMES RAVEN, D.D., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Vicar of Fressingfield-with-Withersdale, and Honorary Canon of Norwich Cathedral, is in preparation, and will be published by subscription.—The early publication of this work is announced by Messrs. Jarrold and Sons, Norwich. It will contain an account of all the church bells in the county of Suffolk, their makers and history, so far as they can be discovered, with about ninety illustrations. Incidental notices will be introduced of the ancient uses of bells, the individuals mentioned on them, and many historical events connected therewith. Introductory remarks on the general history of bells will be prefixed to the local portion of the work. The book will be fully illustrated with engravings of ornaments, letterings, founders' marks, shields, etc., of which some will be found hitherto unknown. The latter portion of the work will contain a complete list of churches in the county, with the inscriptions on the bells now belonging to them, as well as on many which have been recast.

The demy 8vo. edition is limited to 500 copies, and will be offered to subscribers before the day of publication at 15s. net; the larger edition, royal 4to., is limited to 50 copies, and will be subscribed at 25s.

*St. Laurence Church Tower, Thanet*.—In connection with the reparation of the ancient fabric of St. Laurence's Church it may be interesting



to note the connection of Archbishop Laurence, the companion and successor of St. Augustine, with the church bearing his name. He appears to have been second only, in point of energy and influence, to the great and sainted pioneer of Christianity in Britain himself, and there is a poem which ascribes to him certain miraculous cures.

St. Augustine landed at Ebbs Fleet in August 597, and with him were Laurence, who succeeded him as Archbishop, and Peter, the first Abbot of St. Augustine's, who gave his name to St. Peter's, Thanet. It is seventy years after the landing of St. Augustine before we have any authentic record of the foundation of a religious house in Thanet (St. Mildred's Abbey), and in 730 the present Minster Abbey was founded. It is not, however, at all improbable that during the lifetime of SS. Augustine and Laurence religious houses were founded at Minster and St. Laurence, the latter probably by Laurentius himself. There are records of the existence of a church here in 1062, while the churchyard was consecrated so long ago as 1275. The church seems to have attained its present form about A.D. 1200.

The tower is one of considerable archæological and architectural interest. It dates back to the early part of the twelfth century, and is terminated by an addition made in the fifteenth century, which includes a portion of the wall under the parapet, and the whole of the parapet itself. There is a fine ring of six bells.

The first instalment of the repairs, the interior of the tower, was undertaken in commemoration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and has been successfully carried out; but the funds are now exhausted. As this work advanced, it became apparent that the upper part of the exterior was full of large cracks, and the parapet also was in so dangerous a condition that it was necessary either to remove or repair it at once. The Committee felt, therefore, constrained to go on to the completion of the tower.

This further appeal is made in the hope that the sum now required will be heartily contributed by neighbours residing in the five parishes which have been formed out of the original parish of St. Laurence, and by other loyal friends of the church. Donations will be received by the Vicar and Churchwardens.

*The Great Seals of England from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* Commenced by the late A. B. WYON, F.R.G.S., and completed by ALLAN WYON, F.R.G.S. (London: Stock, 1887.)—If patient assiduity and conscientious labour could alone avail to produce so great a work as the one before us, it could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of our Associates, the brothers Wyon, Chief Engravers of Her Majesty's Seals, whose particular and special employment has well fitted them for the task they have so happily carried out. The

course of its production demanded on the part of the authors an intimate acquaintance with the history of England and France, and this not only political but personal and biographical; a sound knowledge of the heraldry, hagiography, and bibliography of the subject; and a profound intimacy with the art which seals, especially seals of sovereigns, illustrate and represent. Armed with these advantages, as they were, it became necessary for them to examine and determine the relative importance of a vast collection of impressions preserved in our museums, the archives of cities, cathedrals, towns, and private families, and in the many miscellaneous niches which enshrine these elegant art-relics of departed dynasties.

The sum of all this is given to the world in the form of a large folio volume of elaborate execution as regards printing and binding, enriched with a large series of permanent photographs, full size, embodying the whole collection of types at present recognised as distinct. By the production of this work the Wyons have certainly succeeded in attaining a foremost literary position as exponents of a very interesting branch of archæology.

We cannot expect that every type of royal seal has yet been catalogued, for since the publication of this book a few new seals have been found, and they will, no doubt, take their proper places in any new edition; but it would be impossible to overrate the merits which it possesses both for thoroughness and accuracy, two paramount properties which combine to make it an indispensable text-book to all whose studies or tastes direct their attention to the Great Seals of England.

*The Church-Bells of the County of Stafford.* By CHARLES LYNAM, F.R.I.B.A. 1889.—Campanology, one of the many subdivisions of antiquarian science, which has of late years taken up a specific and distinct position for itself, will always be an attractive pursuit. Many works on bells have emanated from the laborious investigations of county archæologists; but the one before us is in many respects second to none. The music which the bells of our rural and urban churches discourse delight some, while others, like Mr. Lynam, our artistic Associate, take pleasure in climbing bell-towers, taking casts or sketches of mediæval legends around the bells, and tabulating the result of their investigations in the attractive form of a handsome volume which is a really valuable contribution to our knowledge of all that appertains to bells.

Staffordshire is, in this respect, quite a representative county. The greater number of the examples are of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and as Mr. Lynam figures every inscription of importance, as a result we have a fine and copious collection of ornamental letters and

numerals, stops, crosses, foliage, and devices, such as is afforded by no other class of mediæval relics. The inscriptions also fall into classes. The language is, for the most part, English ; but among the earlier bells Latin is frequently found. Apart from names of founders and churchwardens, and occasional dates, some examples record pious sentiments, as for example :—

- “+ Ihesus be mi sped.”
- “+ Ihesus be oure spede.”
- “Sancte Maria ora pro nobis.”
- “+ In onore sancte Trenete.”
- “+ Missi de celis vos salvet vox Gabrielis.”
- “S’ce gregore o. p.”
- “+ Veni veni creator spiritus  
Mentes tuorum visita.”
- “Te Deum Laudamus.”
- “Cantate Domeno canticum novum.”

Some of the English inscriptions are very quaint, as, for example,—

- “Come away, make no delay.”
- “Come at my call and serve God all.”
- “Peace and good neighbourhood.”
- “Prosperity to this parish.”
- “God save his church.”
- “God send us peace.”
- “When you us ring we ’ll sweetly sing.”
- “With equal note to church I call  
To marriage and to funeral.”

With the true feelings of the artist, Mr. Lynam adds, by way of appendix, some capital notes on the church towers, with careful sketches of the best examples.



# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

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SEPTEMBER 1889.

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### MERLIN AND THE MERLINIAN POEMS.

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#### PART II.—MERLINIAN POEMS.

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BY JOHN VEITCH, ESQ., LL.D., PROFESSOR OF LOGIC AND RHETORIC,  
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

(Concluded from p. 130.)

WHATEVER deduction we may make from the traditions regarding Merlin, on the ground of legend and myth, there remain in his relations to Ardderyd and Gwenddo-leu, and his share in the battle—even his insanity—a substance of truth. This is clear from the Merlinian poems, which are traceable as distinctive compositions far back to the early centuries. They are preserved in MSS. written a considerable time after their actual composition, viz., the *Black Book of Caermarthen* (1154-89), time of Henry II; the *Book of Aneurin*, in the latter part of the thirteenth century; the *Book of Taliessin*, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; the *Red Book of Hergest* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> These poems are at least six in number:—

There is (1), the dialogue between Taliessin and Myrdin (*Black Book of Caermarthen*, i; Skene, i, p. 368).

There is (2) the *Avallenau* in its oldest form (*ibid.*, xvii; Skene, i, p. 370).

There is (3), the *Kygroesi Myrdin*, a dialogue between Merlin and his sister Gwendydd (*Red Book of Hergest*, i; Skene, i, p. 462).

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, p. 3.

There is (4), a Fugitive Poem of Myrdin in his Grave (*Red Book of Hergest*, ii ; Skene, p. 478).

There is (5) the poem beginning "Blessed is the birch in the Valley of the Gwy" (*Black Book of Caermarthen*, xvi ; Skene, i, p. 481).

There is (6) the poem beginning "Listen, O little pig", etc. (*ibid.*, xviii ; Skene, i, p. 482).

The first two poems (Dialogue between Taliessin and Myrdin, and the *Avallenau*) are regarded by Cymric scholars as the oldest, and as original, or very nearly so. The others, while containing original stanzas, are held to have been subject to interpolations by later hands ; but all of them have characteristics and references in common, not possessed by the other poems in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. In nearly every one there is mournful reference to Ardderyd and Gwenddoleu ; there is reference to the twin-sister Gwendydd ; and they are characterised especially by a tone of wailing and regret for the past with its mournful memories, and a certain despair about the future which obtrudes itself on the vision of the seer. There is a constant sense of contrast between the happy life of the bard, gone for ever, and his present lot. "Sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things." There is, further, a feeling for nature of a remarkable, even delicate kind ; and there is a peculiar attitude to the Christianity, or rather ecclesiasticism, of the time.

The prevailing tone is the sadness I have indicated. Thus :—

"As Gwenddoleu was slain in the blood-spilling of Ardderyd,  
And I have come from among the furze."

(*Cyvoesi*, Skene, i, 462 *et seq.*)

"Has not the burden been consigned to earth ?  
Every one must give up what he loves."

(*Ibid.*)

"Beneath my green sod is he not still ?  
The chief of sovereigns of the North, of mildest disposition."

(*Ibid.*)

"The Creator has caused me heavy affliction :  
Dead is Morgeneu, dead is Mordav,  
Dead is Moryen : I wish to die."

(*Ibid.*)

The Merlinian poems, both earlier and later, contain very marked references to natural objects, especially trees

and flowers. There is a distinct feeling for nature for its own sake. The Merlin of the poems seems to rejoice in wood and mountain. Others of the poets in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales* enumerate natural objects not without regard; in the Merlinian poems there is a special feeling for them. Perhaps this is due to the nature-worship of the Cymri, of which Merlin was certainly a representative and embodiment. Such a form of worship necessarily led to careful, minute, and loving observation of the forms of the outward world, and this must eventually end in a complacent and sympathetic regard for them. Merlin worshipped, we are told, "woods, fountains, stones, and more or less the spirits of the air, water, fire, and earth; he interrogated the stars, predicted the future, as his predecessors had done, and gave himself up to the magical practices of the time forbidden by Councils and punished by the Church. He was, if baptized, Christian only in name." (Villemarqué, *Merlin*, pp. 33-4.)

In this relation the apple-tree is the favourite, a constantly recurring object of address and regard in the Merlinian poems; and this is a very singular fact,—showing a feeling for bloom and blossom, the early life of spring,—symbolising, I think, the heart of hope which waited patiently until autumn touched the tree with its ripened gold,—a hope not always fulfilled, for the bloom was often untimely frayed.

"Great apple-tree of delightful branches,  
Budding luxuriantly, and shooting forth renowned scions."

Again :

"Great apple-tree, a green tree of luxurions growth;  
How large are its branches, and beautiful its form!"

Again :

"Great apple-tree, and a yellow tree,  
Grew at Tal Ardd, without a garden surrounding it."

The "yellow tree" here, the "pren melyn", is the barberry, appropriately pictured as yellow, and growing beyond the garden-garth, free in the wilds. Then we have :

"Sweet apple-tree, that grows by the river side."

"Sweet apple-tree, and a tree of crimson hue,  
Which grew in concealment in the Wood of Celyddon."

Can the tree of "crimson hue" be the rowan? I have little doubt that it is. If so, we have in this and other points evidence of a feeling for objects in nature, on the part of these old Cymri, which wholly disappeared from Scottish, even English poetry for hundreds of years subsequent to their time.

His sister addresses him as "the fosterer of song among the streams". What finer touch could there be than this, or what more direct reference to a soul yearning for, delighting in, the music of the hills? Then the following show the heart of one out amid the wilds, and therein rejoicing:

"Listen, O little pig! Is not the mountain green?

\*                      \*                      \*

Listen, O little pig! Are not the buds of thorns  
Very green, the mountain beautiful, and beautiful the earth?"

Then we have references to the notes of birds:

"Listen to birds whose notes are pleasant."

\*                      \*                      \*

"Listen, O little pig! Hear thou the melody  
And chirping of birds by Caer Reon!"

But the notes of birds had a significance for him more than the merely pleasing. They were symbolical, prophetic:

"Listen, O little pig! thou little, speckled one!

List to the voice of sea-birds! Great is their energy!  
Minstrels will be out, without their appropriate portion;  
Though they stand at the door a reward will not come,  
I was told by a seagull that had come from afar.

To me it is of no purpose

To hear the voice of water-birds whose scream is tumultuous.  
Thin is the hair of my head; my covering is not warm.  
The dales are my barn; my corn is not plenteous."

Merlin's relation to the Christianity of the time is tolerably clear. He was more or less influenced by it; perhaps at one time or other, partially at least, embraced it. But he obviously wavered; probably gave it up for his original nature-worship and his power of enchantment and prophecy. Merlin was essentially a bard and seer, the product and reflection of his age, and this he in substance remained to the end. We must disregard the mythical and comparatively Christian character assigned to him in the later poems and traditions of the Welsh.



We find his true position depicted in the old *Avallenau* and by himself. There he appears on the pagan side at the battle of Ardderyd. He is not in favour with the conqueror, Rydderch Hael, who appears in a somewhat later Merlinian poem as

“the enemy  
Of the city of the Bards in the region of the Clyd.”

Then, as he himself tells us, he is hated for his creed by the foremost minister of Rydderch, and this we know was the Christian Bishop Kentigern. Even in the famous interview between Merlin and Kentigern on the wilds, related in the *Scoto-Chronicon* (the details of which are, of course, fabulous), Merlin is represented, after making a formal acknowledgment of the Trinity, as at once relapsing into soothsaying, and offering to prophesy three events of importance to the incredulous Kentigern, who thinks it right, however, to dismiss him with a blessing.

Then there are the pleadings of his sister Gwendydd with him in the name of God and Christ, and his reference, in reply, to God as “the Chief of Creatures”. She urges him, before he dies, to partake of the Communion; but he indignantly refuses to accept this at the hands of “excommunicated monks”,<sup>2</sup> whatever this phrase may mean, and says “May God Himself give me communion.”<sup>3</sup> Then the loving sister says to him finally,—

“I will commend my blameless  
Brother in the supreme Cæer.  
May God take care of Myrdin!”

And he replies,—

“I, too, will commend my blameless  
Sister in the supreme Cæer.  
May God take care of Gwendydd!  
Amen.”<sup>4</sup>

Merlin’s references to priests, monks, and bishops, are

<sup>1</sup> *Dialogue between Merdin and His Sister*, later form of the *Avallenau*, Skene, i, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> The same contempt for the monks is found in the *Book of Taliesin* (xxx), Skene, i, 264,—

“Monks congregate like dogs in a kennel.  
From contact with their superiors they acquire knowledge.”

\* \* \*

“Monks congregate like wolves.”

<sup>3</sup> Skene, i, p. 477.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 477-8.

almost uniformly disparaging,—even bitter. He foresaw the rise of this to him unworthy class into power and social importance, and the corresponding disparagement of the bards ; and he bewails it beforehand as one of the evils of his country, and a source to him of personal grief. The priest was to be inside, and hospitably entertained ; the bard was to be left standing outside the threshold, without his portion.

Merlin detested the rising ecclesiasticism of his time, and at the same time he had, to a certain extent, supplemented his feeling of nature-worship, and his belief in the grasp of supernatural powers, by a theism and some dim hold of a Trinity of Persons. His faith in the omnipotence, if it ever existed, of the supersensible powers at his command, was rudely shaken by the disaster to his party and himself sustained at Ardderyd, and he passed the remainder of his life a doubting, broken-hearted, and despairing man. This, I believe, was the true Merlin of the Wood of Caledon, of the wilds of Drummelzier, and the Myrdin Wylt of the early Welsh bards and historians. In one of the Merlinian poems there is reference to

“The single, white-bearded person who exhausted Dyved,  
Who erected a chancel in the land for those of partial belief,  
In the upland region and among wild beasts.”<sup>1</sup>

The chancel in the upland region is characteristic, and the phrase “partial belief” conveys precisely the attitude of Merlin to the Christian faith.

The later conception of Merlin, as developed in the middle ages, and to be found in the pages of Malory, and accepted by Tennyson, has nothing in common with the reality. It is the view of a wholly inferior character ; it is simply that of the wise man entrapped and overcome through the vulgar wiles of a woman,—a kind of temptation to which others than the wise are not less subject.

We must add to the features of the original Merlin his wizard power. Of what sort this was, or was supposed to be, we may learn from the traditions regarding the Welsh Gwydyon ap Don. He could call up before the eyes of men a fair woman from the blossoms of the tree ;

<sup>1</sup> Skene, i, p. 483 ; *B. B. of Caermarthen*, xviii.

the springing plants were changed into forms of heroes seated on prancing horses. If his castle were attacked he could call up, with a wave of the hand, the stream of the rainbow to encircle the stronghold, and scare away the assailants; every sieger fled surprised and awed. Toiling spirits were ever ready at his command.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever we may think of this pretension, it is true that the people of the time profoundly believed in the wizard as a real power; and what is more, those who were supposed to possess it were not conscious impostors. It was the form in which the sphere of the supersensible appeared to the early, sensitive, and imaginative Cymric race; the supernatural power was not wholly divorced from the world, it was incarnate in some men. But the gift was accompanied by some awesome conditions. This same Gwydyon ap Don is represented by the bard as engaged in a fearsome and mysterious struggle:—

“I saw a fierce conflict in Nant Frangcon  
On a Sunday, at the time of dawn,  
Between the bird of wrath and Gwydion.”<sup>2</sup>

We thus see how it was that mediæval personages in the Lowlands of Scotland were credited with supernatural powers; that Lord Soulis had his familiar *Red-Cap*, that Michael Scott sought to rule rebellious sprites, and how the whole feeling of Scotland during the Stuarts was tinged with awe of the supernatural and belief in faëry, ending in witchcraft, and its attribution to the Devil's power. This, in its essence, was a Cymric inheritance, transmitted through the mediæval romancers.

This conception of the higher world was, no doubt, sensuous and inadequate; but it was not wholly groundless or without its elevating power. The natural, as it is called,—the part of the world presented to the senses, and unwarrantably emphasised as the whole,—is but a clothing, an incarnation of the soul beyond and in it; as such it is truly symbolical. It manifests mind analogous at least to our own; thus we know it, feel it, are able to put meaning into it. Sometimes it shows emotion, as it were, by sympathy with us in our moral and spiritual moods. Again, it appears to be in contrast

<sup>1</sup> *The Chair of Ceridwen, B. of Taliessin*, xvi; Skene, i, 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

and in conflict with our mental and moral processes ; it seems to scorn and to spurn our individual aspirations, efforts, and purposes. It passes by and over the individual, as if in pursuit of some far off divine event, towards which it is eagerly moving. The old Cymric view which spiritualised the world and the powers of earth and air, even the erroneous faith in the capacity of the individual to grasp, master, and wield certain of those powers, were but dim precursors of that higher faith which finds the Divine in nature, which regards the so-called *natural* as by itself a mere fragment of what is, and of that insight into the life of things, based on openness of vision and reverential waiting on the revelation to be found there, which brings the world of heaven and earth, of light and shadow, of hill and stream and flower, into the heart of man, and thus truly enables him to make it his own.

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## CRAIGNETHAN CASTLE.

BY J. DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, F.R.S.E., F.S.A.SCOT.

*(Read at the Glasgow Congress, August 1888.)*

THE original name of the lands of Craignethan was Drafan, and they are first heard of under that appellation in 1160, when Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, granted them in fee to Lambyn Asa for a *reddendo* of two and a half silver merks. In 1271 they were held by Sir Hugh de Crawford and Alice his spouse; but no documents have been discovered throwing any light on their ownership for a considerable period after this date, though it is probable they formed part of the vast possessions of the House of Douglas. It is also uncertain at what period they passed into the hands of the Hamiltons, but in all likelihood James, first Lord Hamilton, obtained possession of them shortly after the forfeiture of the Black Douglasses in 1455. He probably erected the keep of the Castle, which appears to date from the latter half of the fifteenth century. In 1529 the fortalice, under the name of Castre de Nauthan, with the adjacent lands, was bestowed by James, second Lord Hamilton, and first Earl of Arran, upon his natural son, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and to this remarkable man it undoubtedly owes alike much of its architectural importance and its historical interest.

It is impossible within the limits at my disposal to do more than touch upon the salient points in the career of one of the most notable figures of the reign of James V. Hamilton's character is a most complex one, and it is difficult to understand how one possessed of his fine taste and artistic skill should have been conspicuous for ferocity and barbarity even in the rude age in which he lived. His career up till the period of his fall was one long series of honours and successes, and he became the possessor of a chain of estates running from Crawfordjohn, in Upper Clydesdale, to Finnart in Western Renfrewshire. The offices of dignity and profit he held were innumerable,—Captain of the Palace of Linlithgow, Sheriff of the counties of Linlithgow and Renfrew, Bailie of

the Barony of Lesmahagow, Cupbearer and Steward of the Household, the King's Master of Work and Superintendent of the Royal Palaces, Lord High Treasurer, Governor of Dumbarton Castle, and last, but not least remarkable, Grand Inquisitor in all cases of heresy. Every effort was made to efface the stain on his birth. He was twice legitimated, first in January 1512-13; and second, with three natural sons of his own, in November 1539; while the King even gave him the right to incorporate the royal double tressure in his coat of arms.

Amongst the many cruel and violent deeds of his life none was baser than his slaughter, in cold blood, of the Earl of Lennox after the battle of Linlithgow Bridge in 1526,—a murder which his father Arran bewailed, exclaiming with anguish that the wisest, best, and bravest man in Scotland had fallen. And yet, with all his ferocity and rapacity, he was the architect of some of the finest portions of the Palaces of Holyrood, Falkland, and Linlithgow, while the Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Rothesay were considerably added to and adorned by his genius. It is, therefore, not surprising that he should have devoted attention to the improvement of his own residence at Craignethan, and to him are attributed the enclosing walls and towers round the keep, with the outer courtyard.

In 1540 King James visited him at Craignethan, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to James, Master of Somerville; but his career of prosperity was soon to close. In the following year he was accused of connivance in a plot to assassinate the King; and though it seems not improbable that the charge was groundless, he was found guilty and executed, while his estates were forfeited.

In 1541 the Lord Treasurer's accounts contain entries of disbursements in connection with the maintenance of Craignethan Castle; and in that year also James again visited it while on a hunting expedition in Lanarkshire.

The Castle and lands remained annexed to the Crown till after the King's death, when the forfeiture was recalled, and they were restored to a son of Hamilton of Finnart, who subsequently became Sir James Hamilton of Evandale, and Sheriff of Lanarkshire. The latter did

not, however, long retain possession of them, as James, second Earl of Arran, was desirous of acquiring them, and they were subsequently conveyed to him.

There is a tradition that Queen Mary was at Craignethan after her flight from Lochleven on 2nd May 1568. Mr. Greenshields of Kerse, in his *Annals of Lesmahagow*, seems to consider the tradition as founded on fact, pointing out that it is undoubted that Mary proceeded to Hamilton, where her friends and adherents assembled from all quarters. Sir William Drury, writing to Cecil on the 6th of May 1568, informs him that since the despatch of his last letter he "could not hear of any more than that the Queen continued at Draffan, among the Hamiltons." The tradition of the district is that Mary, after remaining some time at Cadzow Castle, was removed to Craignethan as a place of greater security; and, as Mr. Greenshields says, the Place of Hamilton at that time being merely a square tower, altogether unsuited for a royal residence, it is quite likely that Craignethan, both from its strength and its greater distance from Glasgow, where Moray was assembling his forces, would be selected as the most suitable dwelling for the Queen in the district.

Be this as it may, it is undoubted that when, after Langside, Moray made an incursion into the Middle Ward, he took possession both of Craignethan and the Place of Hamilton.

In 1570, during the struggles between the adherents of Mary and those of her son James VI, Sir William Drury and the English army took the Place of Hamilton (which was held by the Queen's party) and destroyed it. The defenders were, however, allowed to retire to Craignethan, and meeting Lord Sempill, one of the leaders of their opponents, seized him and carried him with them.

In 1579, when John and Claud Hamilton were attainted for their supposed complicity in the assassination of the Regent Moray, Craignethan was again besieged, and in it was found James, the third Earl of Arran. Despite the fact that he had been insane for many years, he was taken prisoner, and kept for some time in captivity.

Craignethan remained in the hands of the Hamiltons till 1661, when the Duchess Anne sold it to Andrew Hay.

The latter seems, from the arms over the entrance to the mansion, which he (in the words of Hamilton of Wishaw) "built with the ruins of the Castle in the corner of the garden", to have been a cadet of the house of Tweeddale. In 1720 the Castle and lands were acquired by purchase from the Hay family by the Duke of Douglas, and after his death passed, by the decision of the House of Lords in the famous Douglas cause, to Archibald Douglas, son of Lady Jane Douglas, the Duke's sister, and her husband, Sir John Stewart of Grandtully. Mr. Douglas was raised to the peerage in 1790, but the title became extinct in 1857. Craignethan now belongs to his descendant and representative in the female line, Charles, twelfth Earl of Home.

The Castle consists of an inner and outer courtyard separated by a dry ditch or moat 30 ft. wide. The outer courtyard, 190 ft. by 140 ft., is surrounded by a battlemented wall, and has square towers at the north-western and south-western angles. The inner courtyard, 82 ft. by 65 ft., contains the keep, which is battlemented, and has bartizans at the angles and over the entrance. The corbelling of the battlements is extremely fine and artistic. The enclosing wall of the inner courtyard is strengthened on the south by two towers, one of which is of unusual size.

It is well known that Craignethan was the prototype of the "Tillietudlem" of Sir Walter Scott's *Old Mortality*. The house to which reference has been made as having been built by Andrew Hay in the outer courtyard was offered as a residence to the great novelist by Lord Douglas; and Lockhart tells us he was at first disposed to entertain the proposal favourably, though circumstances subsequently occurred which altered his intention.

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## STIRLING CASTLE.

BY W. B. COOK, ESQ.

*(Read 29th August 1888.)*

ANYONE who attempts to give an account of the condition of the Rock of Stirling and its inhabitants in prehistoric times will find little upon which to found a particular and detailed description. It is probable that for long after the glacial period the Rock was uninhabitable, and not until the sea retreated from the Carse of Stirling and the Vale of Menteith, would shelter and subsistence for human beings be obtainable upon its craggy height. As time rolled on, and the rock became peopled, the mud-hut would mark the abode of the inhabitants, and the "broch" their fortress in time of danger. The "folk-moot" was situated on the northernmost spur of the Gowan Hills, and from their highest point may have blazed forth the sacrificial fires of Baal. The advantages of the site for communication by signal with other heights in the surrounding plain would soon be recognised. Naturally the locality would form a centre for great gatherings, whether friendly or hostile; and from the frequency of the struggles for possession of the eminence, it has been called "Striveling", or the Rock of Strife,—the *Mons Dolorum* of the monkish writers. Such is the generally received derivation of the name of Stirling; and it may be of interest to archæologists to devote a few minutes of the short time at our disposal to this question of nomenclature.

What was the name of Stirling before it became a rock of strife? The pertinence of this query has been tacitly acknowledged by Sir Robert Sibbald and other writers, who explain that the strife alluded to in "Striveling" is not the warfare of men, but the striving of the waters of the Teith, the Allan, and the Forth, which meet near Stirling. This derivation is at least ingenious, if somewhat poetical, as it accounts for both parts of the word "Striveling", which the more common etymology fails to do; but the probability is that neither the strife of men

nor the strife of waters is commemorated by the name of Stirling.

If we look for a topographical explanation of the name we are likely to be more successful. When the face of the country was changed by the last elevation of the land, and Mr. Geikie's Lake Caledonia rushed into the Frith of Forth, and was lost in the German Ocean, the Rock of Stirling was surrounded by a marsh which in the deeper depressions formed little lochs or lakelets. In the name of Raploch, a village and farm lying at the foot of the Castle Rock, to the west, we have, perhaps, a survival of the character of the country at that time, just as in the beds of marine shells in Raploch Quarry we have evidence of the sea which covered the plain at a still more remote period. The lands of Raploch, or Roploch, appear in the oldest records of Scotland; and as Roploch means "the robber's loch", it is not improbable that at one time the swamp near Stirling was infested by marauders from the mountains; at any rate, the name indicates the nature of the surroundings of the Rock at an early period; and Stirling is probably nothing more than the rock in the marsh.

It is amusing to note the numerous spellings of the name "Stirling" in old deeds and letters. Sir W. Fraser, in his *Stirlings of Keir*, gives no fewer than sixty-four different ways of spelling the surname of the family. In addition to these I have collected from printed records and manuscripts fifty-two different spellings, making a total of one hundred and sixteen, while, by proceeding on the liberal lines of the old writers, and ringing the changes upon vowels and consonants, I would undertake to double the number. Of the one hundred and sixteen modes, two are Latin, nine French, and two poetical. I have not included "Snowdon", a name given to Stirling by William of Worcester, and used by Sir David Lyndsay in his *Complaint of the Papingo*.

The oldest form, "Strevelyn", dates from 1160, and the present style is at least as old as 1433. Why it should have been selected as the permanent spelling of Stirling it is difficult to say, unless it can be accounted for by the constant use of the word "sterling", signifying true or genuine, and an assumed connection between the two

words. Sir John Lubbock, Mr. E. W. Robertson, and other modern writers, agree with Camden in rejecting the popular idea that the one word was derived from the other. The question is too wide to be discussed here, and would form a good subject for a separate paper. I may state, however, that after reading all that I can find published on the matter, I am not convinced that the authorities mentioned are right in attributing the origin of the word "sterling" to the Esterlings who refined the English money in the time of King John. It is even doubtful whether there was really such a people at all. Richard Gough, the continuator of Camden, says the word "sterling" occurs in an ordinance of Henry II, dated 1184; and I find it recorded in the ancient statutes of Scotland that "King Davyd ordaynt at the *sterlyng* (or silver penny) suld wey xxxij cornys of gude and round quhete." That *sterling* and *streviling* were interchangeable terms is evident from Maitland's *History of the House of Seton*, where it is related that King Robert the Bruce founded a chapel in Dumfries in honour of the Virgin Mary, to commemorate the third Sir Chrystell Seyton, and "gaif to the said priest and his successouris the soume of fyve pundis *streviling* to be ta'en of the barony of Car-laverock for their sustentation." There is, in fact, much to be said in favour of the theory which has been rather summarily set aside; but I leave the subject here, and pass on to the building of Stirling Castle.

"The time when there was no Stirling Castle", remarks the late Mr. Robert Chambers in his *Picture of Scotland*, "is not known in Scottish annals." In a modified sense this is perfectly true. The ancient inhabitants of North Britain had, doubtless, a fortress on Stirling Rock, and when the Romans invaded the country, the suitability of the site for fortification was not likely to escape their notice. The Roman Road, which passes near the Rock, in the direction of the river, and an inscribed stone on the Gowan Hills, in the vicinity of the Castle, bear lasting testimony to their presence in this district. By and bye the position became too dangerous for the Romans to hold, and when they withdrew from the island, Stirling formed part of the Pictish province of Fortrein or Fortrenn. When Egfrid, the Anglian King, overran the

country in 681, and established a bishopric so near as Abercorn, on the Forth, he would naturally occupy Stirling, where he must have crossed the Forth, when four years later he burned Tulach Almond, near Scone.

After the Picts received their liberty centuries of tribal wars followed, resulting in the formation, under Kenneth I (*circa* 843), of the kingdom of Scotland, which comprised the modern counties of Perth, Fife, Stirling, and Dumbarton, with the greater part of Argyle. Stirling was still a frontier *rath* or fortress when Kenneth the Hardy led his followers across the Scots Water, or Forth, and ravaged the domain of his foes ; and when the second Kenneth threw up embankments at the fordable points of the Forth, the fortress of Stirling would, no doubt, be strengthened. There appears to be no foundation for Boece's statement that this monarch destroyed a strong Pictish fortress at Stirling ; and certainly it did not, as the same writer asserts, form part of the ransom of his brother and successor, because his brother (if he had one) did not succeed him. Nor is there any confirmation to be found of the fabulist's story, that the Northumbrians rebuilt the Castle, and in about twenty years restored it to the Scots on condition of receiving their assistance against the Danes. It was not until Forteviot, Scone, and Abernethy, ceased to be royal residences, or capitals, that Stirling possessed a Castle worthy of the name.

There must have been a fairly well-built fortress in the reign of Alexander I, who founded the first chapel within its walls ; but it was not until his successor ascended the throne that a feudal castle, probably a single square tower or keep, with spacious courtyard or *enceinte*, replaced the earlier buildings of wood and wattles, rudely fortified by earthworks. As Mr. Robertson observes in his valuable work, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, David I found Scotland built of wattles, and left her framed in granite castles, and monasteries studding her land in every direction.

When we come down to the reign of William the Lion we find Stirling Castle one of the five principal fortresses of the kingdom. After the death of Alexander III, Richard the mason and Alexander the carpenter were



paid the large sum of £105 : 15 : 4 for work done at the Castle within the year 1287-88. The fortress was more than once burnt down and rebuilt during the wars with England. In 1304 it was strong enough to resist a siege for three months.

According to the Book of Pluscarden, the King of England, in 1377, ordered Stirling Castle to be rebuilt by William Montague, who appointed in his own stead Thomas Rokeby, Knight, whose arms still remain on the walls of a certain tower. Needless to say that no trace now remains of either tower or arms.

We find Wynton describing the Castle in 1339 as

“A wycht-hous made off lyme and stene,  
And set in till sa stythe a place  
That rycht wycht off it self it was.”

At that time the Steward of Scotland, seeing he could not break the walls, put the Castle in charge of Maurice Murray, who, says Wynton, “enfossyt it grettumly”. Twenty years later the revenue of the Court of Justiciary is granted for the construction of the walls of the Castle, and the repairs extend over a period of three years. A commission appointed in 1368 to visit the royal Castles of Lochleven, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, had power to give orders for their being at once repaired, garrisoned, and provided with victuals, warlike engines, and other means necessary for resisting attack. In 1380 £43 : 2 : 8 was paid for the construction of the barbican of Stirling Castle ; in the following year two other out-works and the north gate were erected at a cost of £62 : 2 : 6 ; and in 1383, new walls, probably those still standing, were built. In the reign of Robert II, £94 : 19 : 6 was spent upon the tower called “Wal”, the houses within the walls were repaired at a cost of £7 : 16 : 6, a bridge was made, and a wooden mill constructed. Robert, Duke of Albany, built a new chapel, probably on a different site from the one founded by Alexander I, and during his regency an average of £70 a year was spent upon the upkeep of the Castle buildings.

Various new works and alterations were carried out between 1406 and 1409, one of these being the construction of a door in the White Tower. The oldest parts of

the present buildings, such as the Mint and the houses on the west side of the Palace Square, may be ascribed to the reign of James II. From the fact that in 1459 there is a payment made for preparing stones for works at the Castle, and the further fact that the revenues of the earldom of Lennox were appropriated for these works, we may surmise that considerable additions and improvements were then in progress.

To James III, whose love for architecture proved a fatal passion for himself, Stirling Castle is indebted for one of its principal buildings, namely the Parliament House, which even in its present degraded state presents features worthy of admiration. The Exchequer Rolls contain no entry that can be definitely ascribed to this great work; but the accounts giving the details may be among the missing Rolls of this reign. James III also built a new chapel royal on the site of the Duke of Albany's; but it seems to have been an unpretentious building as compared with the Parliament House, as it soon fell into a ruinous state. Both buildings had for their architect the unlucky Cochrane, who was hanged over Lauder Bridge by the rebel lords.

The crowning work of the Castle, the still beautiful Palace, is usually credited to James V; but it was begun by his predecessor in 1496, when the mason, Walter Marlyoun, received a payment "in erlis of his condicion (or contract) of biggin of the King's house."

In 1510 the lands of Auchincruive were granted to John Lockhart and his wife for £100 due to him for his labours and services to the King in connection with the works at the Castle. The gallant hero of the *Lady of the Lake*, whose statue adorns the north-east corner of the Palace, continued the work, though slowly, as it was not finished until 1539, in which year Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart, the King's favourite and chief adviser, was confirmed in possession of the barony of Avondale for his services in connection with the completion of the Palaces of Stirling and Linlithgow. The French battery commanding the river and bridge owes its existence to Mary of Lorraine, widow of James V, who caused it to be erected in 1550.

While some repairs in the Castle were being carried out in 1574, James VI wrote to the steward of Menteith

to compel the tenants of the lordship to carry slate from the Hough of Menteith to Stirling Castle, for making the same water-tight. This order the said tenants appear to have "contempuandlie" disobeyed; but they were afterwards brought to a sense of their duty by the threat of a penalty of 20s. for each horse that was absent.

The royal determination to keep the Castle water-tight did not last long, for in 1583 Sir Robert Drummond, Master of the Works, reported that it was in a ruinous condition. The great hall in Parliament House was not only leaking through the thatch on the roof, but the walls were being destroyed by the water; the towers were "nakit", and without slates; the west quarter of the Palace was so far gone that it required to be taken down and rebuilt; and the Chapel Royal was so bad that no one could remain in it in time of rain. Ten years later the King pulled down the Chapel Royal, and erected a new one for the baptism of his son Frederick, this being the last important building erected within the Castle precincts.

Before James VI's visit to his native country, in 1629, there was a general furbishing up of the Castle for his reception. No fewer than two hundred and eighty-two "lozens", or panes of glass, were put into the windows of the King's rooms, the Parliament House, and the Chapel, which is a proof of the dilapidated state the buildings were allowed to fall into after the seat of royalty was transferred to London.

From the Master of Works' specification and estimate of probable cost, which have been published by the Bannatyne Club, we learn that the Parliament House had a trumpeters' loft, probably at the north end, that one of the towers was called "Elphinstone's Tower", that the King's arms were displayed above the inner gate, and various other interesting particulars.

In Queen Anne's reign the Castle area was extended towards the east, new outworks being made, with fosse and drawbridge, as are still to be seen. Slezer's views, dated 1693, show the Castle with five round towers of considerable height; but these have been torn down. The lower portions of two of them form the inner entrance to the Castle, and the base of a third, to the south, is still



visible ; but this is all that is left of the high towers of Stirling, to which Sir David Lindsay bade a fond adieu.

Nor can we refrain from lamenting the barbarous manner in which the noble buildings of the Scottish kings have been treated by the modern engineers of the War Department, who seem to have taken especial pleasure in destroying the architectural beauties of the fine old edifices. Compared with their so-called "improvements", the tooth of time has been merciful indeed. When Robert Burns first visited Stirling, the desecration of the Parliament House made him so angry that on returning to his inn he scratched on one of the window-panes a few severe lines reflecting on the successors of the Stewart race ; but on a second visit he thought they were unworthy of his muse, and took out the pane on which they were inscribed. The lines, however, have been preserved, and appear in some editions of his works. Lord Cockburn, in his recently published *Circuit Journeys*, says he was often assured that the Government, in the beginning of the present century, were anxious to dispose of Stirling Castle to the highest bidder, and were prepared to pass a special Act to enable them to do so. Fortunately the Government were prevented from perpetrating such an outrageous piece of folly. There is no archæologist, no patriotic Scotsman, but must feel indignant at the manner in which the residence of royalty, and the ancient seat of the Scottish Parliament, has been despoiled and irretrievably injured by Governmental officialism—strong in power, but weak in intelligence, and utterly devoid of sympathy with the past glories of our country.

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#### THE HISTORY OF STIRLING CASTLE.

From the accession of Alexander I down to the Union of Scotland with England, Stirling was one of the chief centres of political activity and statecraft, and to give the annals of the Castle justice would involve the relation of nearly the whole of Scottish history. A bare chronicle is all that can be attempted here, and as the most summary way of dealing with the subject I shall present it before you in four divisions, viz., the Castle as



a royal residence, as a place of arms, as the seat of national assemblies, and as the scene of other events of historic interest.

In an excellent work recently published it is stated, or rather repeated, that Stirling Castle first became a royal residence after the accession of the Stewarts. This statement does not do justice to Stirling, the fact being that under the early kings of Scotland, as Mr. Robertson remarks, "Stirling commanded the passage of the Scots Water, and situated between the two great divisions of Scotia and Lothian, was amongst the most important places in the kingdom, and a frequent and favourite residence of the sovereign." Stirling Castle was, indeed, in the words of the poet, "Parent of monarchs, nurse of kingly race." Alexander I died here in 1124, and when William the Lion fell ill, he expressed a wish to be carried to Stirling, "a place for which he appears to have felt an especial fondness", and where, after lingering for several months, he closed his long and eventful career. In 1257, Alexander III and his Queen were carried off from Kinross in the night time, and before dawn were safe within the walls of Stirling Castle, the result of a *coup d'état* effected by Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith. At a quieter period of this King's reign Stirling was his most frequent abode, and for his pleasure a new park or chase was constructed, and the old one repaired. To the Stewarts, Stirling Castle was more than a mere residence. It was, so to speak, re-created by them, and they made it a delightful and luxurious home, although it must be added that several of the family occasionally found it something very like a prison. When James VII was here, in 1682, he expressed a great liking for the Castle, and truly remarked that "it was inherent and natural to all the royal family, for many years past, to have a particular kindness for Streviling." Robert the Steward, the first of the royal line, dated many of his charters from Stirling; and James I, who regarded the place as the Windsor of Scotland, showed a marked preference for the splendid situation of the Castle. His son, James II, was the first of the Stewart sovereigns who was born within its walls. He gave the Castle as a dowry to his wife, and from that time it continued to be the portion of the

Queens of Scotland. James III also first saw the light in Stirling Castle,—a fact only now disclosed by the publication of the Exchequer Rolls. For carrying the welcome news to the King at Holyrood, his faithful servant, Robert Nory, received a charter confirming him in the possession of the Ward of Gudy, in Menteith, and granting him in life-rent the lands of Queenshalch, near Stirling. A relic of the sainted Queen Margaret, carefully preserved at Dunfermline Abbey, was brought to Stirling for the Queen's confinement; and it is on record that the same garment was put to a similar use when James V was born at Linlithgow.

History and record are alike silent as to the birthplace of James IV, but the probability is that Stirling Castle had that honour. It may not have been to him a very happy home, as he was probably confined within its walls, owing to the fear of his father that in the person of the young Prince would be fulfilled the interpretation of a dream that the royal lion of Scotland would be torn by his whelps. The dream was, alas! only too literally fulfilled by the tragic end of the King at Beaton's Mill; and in the Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle, James IV spent many hours doing penance for the melancholy death of his father, whose dust, along with that of his Queen, lies buried at Cambuskenneth Abbey.

It appears from the Exchequer Rolls that James III carried with him to the field at Sauchie the famous two-handed sword which King Robert the Bruce wielded with fatal effect at the battle of Bannockburn. The sword was left on the field, where it was afterwards found along with a casket containing £4,000 of treasure, by a man named Walter Simpson, who obtained as a reward for their recovery the life-rent of parts of Cessintuly and Coldoch, in Menteith. It would be interesting to know whether this sword is still in the possession of the royal family. If the story told of the sword belonging to the Earl of Elgin (now in the Glasgow Exhibition), and said to be Bruce's, is correct, it cannot be the sword which was lost at Sauchieburn.

In June 1496 Margaret Drummond, the lady-love of James IV, came to reside at Stirling Castle, where she was kept in great state. The scheming Margaret Tudor,

lawful wife of James IV, always regarded Stirling Castle as her peculiar property. Here she lost her first-born; here she showed with pride, to the English envoy, the beautiful babe who was afterwards James V; and here, after the disaster of Flodden, she gave birth to Prince Alexander, Duke of Ross, who died in infancy, and was buried in Cambuskenneth Abbey. Hither also the Queen-Mother fled with her children when they were demanded by the Lords Commissioners; and at the gate of the Castle she put into the little hands of James V the keys of the fortress, and with a nod directed him to give them to the Regent Albany. By her second marriage she forfeited her right to the Castle; but it was frequently occupied by her, and several stormy interviews with her opponents took place in the royal chambers, which were also the headquarters of a series of intrigues with her brother, Henry VIII of England.

Contrary to local histories, James V was neither born nor crowned in Stirling Castle, but he was brought to it early in life, and his high spirit occasionally broke out not only in play with Davy Lindsay, but in warfare with his retinue; and some say he threatened the porter with his dagger because he would not open the Castle gates at his command. As "the gudeman o' Ballengeich" he often slipped out by a postern near the north gate, and sallied forth upon adventure bent. His first wife, Magdalen of France, did not live to see her dower-Castle; but his second spouse, Mary of Lorraine, held many a gay court within its Palace. Her initials appear on several parts of the building erected by her consort, while her portrait formed one of the bassi-relievi with which the ceiling of the banqueting-room was decorated. Her second son was born here, but only survived a few days, and was buried at the same time as his brother, in the royal vault at Holyrood.

During her regency Mary of Guise kept up a splendid style at Stirling, and had a fine band and choir of vocalists. When at variance with the Governor of the kingdom she did not hesitate to hold Parliaments of her own; and altogether a more regal lady never reigned at Stirling Castle. Her sway was exercised in a sumptuary way over the Provost and magistrates of the royal burgh, who had



to don a French court-dress at her command; and the town's officer still wears, on high occasions, the uniform which she prescribed for that official.

Stirling Castle was the nursery of the hapless Queen Mary, who, when seven months old, was carried, along with her mother, from Linlithgow to Stirling by a dashing enterprise on the part of certain Scottish nobles whom Henry VIII had failed to seduce from their allegiance. On Sunday the 9th of September 1543 the baby Queen was crowned with great ceremony in the Cathedral Church, the occasion being celebrated with nearly a month's rejoicing, during which the Rock rang with the clash of arms in mimic war, and the plaudits of the spectators, who were delighted with the manly sports of our ancestors.

After the battle of Pinkiecleugh, Mary was sent for safety to Inchmahome, and she did not see the grey towers of Stirling again until she returned to Scotland a widow. The first night she slept in her ancestral Palace, she ran a narrow escape of being burnt to death by an accident which caused a great sensation on account of an ancient prediction that "a queen should be burnt at Stirling", a prediction still happily unfulfilled.

Several months before her public marriage with Darnley, Mary had been privately united to him in wedlock in David Rizzio's apartment in Stirling Castle, and when her husband lay ill, shortly after the second marriage, she tended him with wifely care. When Mary took the field against the lords who could not brook her marriage with her cousin, Stirling was her headquarters. The Castle was not again favoured with her presence until after the birth of her son, who was baptized in the Chapel Royal with a pomp and splendour only excelled by the proceedings at the baptism of his own son in 1594. Darnley very ungraciously took the sulks on the auspicious occasion; and although there is no reason to believe Buchanan's statement that he had not a dress fit to appear in, or the local tradition that he spent the day drinking in a tavern in St. Mary's Wynd, it is true he took no part in the ceremony, secluding himself either in his apartments in the Castle, or in Willie Bell's lodgings at the foot of Broad Street, now known as "Darnley's



House", but very absurdly designated in a modern inscription on the wall as the nursery of James VI and his son Prince Frederick. The christening took place on the 17th of December, and on the 23rd there was a reconciliation between the royal pair; but next day Darnley, on hearing of the pardon granted to the Earl of Morton, went off in high dudgeon, without saying good-bye to his wife, and consequently Christmas was spent in grief and gloom.

On the 6th of January the Queen graced with her presence the nuptials of Mary Fleming, one of the two Maries who remained faithful to her cause, and on the 13th she left Stirling Castle for Edinburgh. On the 22nd of April of the same year (1567), Queen Mary came to Stirling to see her son; and next morning, Wednesday the 23rd, she quitted the Castle for the last time.

James VI was crowned at Stirling when he was about thirteen months old, and was afterwards kept in the Castle, where he received his education from the famous George Buchanan, assisted by Peter Young. Buchanan's method of instilling knowledge into the mind of his royal pupil made the Countess of Mar hold up her hands in horror at the freedom taken with the sacred body of the Lord's anointed by his learned and severe preceptor.

James VI's eldest son, "the good Prince Henry", was born in Stirling Castle in February 1594. All the histories, following Lindsay of Pitscottie, give the date as the 19th; but I have discovered a contemporary note of the event on the fly-leaf of an old volume of the Stirling Register of Sasines (in which, by the way, I also found a fragment of an ancient Scottish ballad), which sets forth that "the *six* of Februar 1593" (New Year's Day at that time fell on the 25th of March, which accounts for the difference in the year), "Anna Queen of Scotts was lighter of ane sone to King James y<sup>e</sup> Sext & his name is" (here there was originally a blank, afterwards filled in with "Frederick James") "betwixt fo<sup>r</sup> & thre h<sup>rs</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> morning." Whatever was the date of the Prince's birth, there is no doubt as to the date of his baptism, which was celebrated at Stirling on the 30th of August 1594, with the most magnificent piece of pageantry ever seen in Scotland.

Since the Union, Stirling Castle, though occasionally visited by the reigning monarch, has never been a royal residence, and in consequence has fallen into decay.

As a place of arms Stirling Castle has had a very chequered history. Sometimes the prize which stimulated contending armies, as at Bannockburn; at other times held by the King against his nobles, and again by the nobles against their King; the scene of faction-fights, the object of rebellious raids,—the ancient fortress has witnessed many a gallant exploit, and thousands of brave souls have passed away in its attack and defence. In 1174 it was surrendered to the English, with four other Scottish fortresses, as a pledge for the ransom of William the Lion; but it is important to notice, as a correction of the historian, that it was never actually given up. During the interregnum the Castle changed hands at least ten times, one of the sieges being specially memorable for the enormous exertions put forth by Edward I to take the Castle, and for the heroic defence made by Sir William Oliphant and his small garrison, who only capitulated at the end of three months' resistance. It is mentioned in history that the English King despoiled St. Andrew's Cathedral of its leaden roof in order to enable him to wreak his vengeance on Stirling Castle, the only fortress which held out against him; but it is not generally known that he also ordered the Prince of Wales to take lead for his stone-throwing engines from the roof of Dunblane Cathedral, taking care to leave the place over the altar untouched. Thus Edward provided a salve for his kingly conscience.

In 1651 Stirling Castle was successfully besieged by General Monk, who did Scotland more harm by removing the national Registers (which were afterwards lost at sea) than he did by occupying the Castle, although we have him to blame for the destruction of many of the decorations of the Palace. A short and unavailing siege by Prince Charlie, in 1746, closes the history of the Castle as a place of arms.

Some of the most important of the early Councils General, which preceded Parliaments, sat at Stirling. At one of these, in the reign of William the Lion, a number of alterations were made in the laws of the realm as con-

solidated by King David ; while at another, under Alexander II, the right of trial by jury is said to have been established.

The first Parliament held in the Castle was during Balliol's short reign ; and not the least memorable was the Parliament of James I, at which the Duke of Albany and his two sons, together with his father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, were tried on a charge of high treason, convicted, and summarily executed on the Heading Hill. It was in our Parliament House that the will of James III was publicly read ; and there also Queen Mary announced to her nobles her intention to marry Lord Darnley.

In 1571, when James VI was carried into the "Black Parliament", the light was streaming in through a chink in the roof. The baby King asked the Earl of Mar the name of the place, and on being told it was the Parliament House, he is said to have replied, "My Lord, there is a hole in the Parliament." This saying has been preserved as an example of the King's precocious punning powers. At a later period he displayed his proficiency in this line of wit in the same place.

The holding at Stirling of James' first Parliament after taking the government into his own hands, occasioned a protest by a party of the nobility, who refused to attend it because it was not convened at Edinburgh. In 1645 the Parliament removed from Edinburgh to Stirling on account of the plague ; and in 1561 the last Parliament in Scotland at which the King personally presided, opened its sittings here, but adjourned to Perth.

Among other events of historic interest connected with Stirling Castle must be mentioned the murder of the eighth Earl of Douglas by James II, who under provocation stabbed his enemy with his dagger; Sir Patrick Gray, who had a private grudge against the unfortunate Earl, following up the King's thrust with a blow from a battle-axe, which proved fatal. Tradition says that the Earl's body was thrown out of a closet-window still to be seen, and buried where it fell ; but it is not easy to believe that the kinsmen of the Douglas would have allowed their chief to lie in an obscure grave.

Two noted impostors were maintained in Stirling at the cost of the nation : one of them, Thomas of Trump-

ington, the false King Richard I of England, for a period of nineteen years, up till his death, when he was buried in the Dominican Monastery, a lying Latin inscription on his tombstone carrying the imposture beyond the grave. In 1495 James IV welcomed Perkin Warbeck to Stirling Castle with royal honours. He was provided with handsome lodgings in the burgh; and so much was the impostor identified with Stirling, that although he was hanged at Tyburn, and in all probability buried in England, tradition insists that his remains were interred in the vault at Cambuskenneth Abbey which the King had prepared for himself.

With numerous incidents of court life and political movement Stirling Castle is closely associated; but enough has been said to show that in Scottish annals it must always occupy a prominent, I may almost say a pre-eminent, and illustrious place.

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## THE GREAT SEALS OF SCOTLAND.

BY ALLAN WYON, ESQ., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., CHIEF ENGRAVER  
OF HER MAJESTY'S SEALS.

(Continued from p. 111.)

## PART II.

No. 22. *Robert Bruce*, 1306-1329 (3.8 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, crowned, and robed, very similar to the Seal of Balliol (No. 11), holding in his right hand a very long sceptre, terminating in the band of the Seal in a large floriated ornament. With the forefinger of this, his right hand, he holds down the cord of his mantle on a level with his girdle. His left arm, from the elbow, is extended on one side; and in his left hand he holds an orb, from which proceeds a long stem, on the top of which is a cross pattée. The feet of the king rest upon two small lions (or lizards) with extended tails, both facing inwards. The throne is richly carved, and is furnished with a very small cushion seen only on the king's left. The words of the legend are separated from one another by slipped trefoils.

Legend : ✠ ROBERTVS DEO RECTORE REX SCOTTORV/M.

No. 23. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right, clothed in mail and covered by a surcoat. The head is protected by a helmet, globular at the top, surmounted by a crown. The face is covered by a grated vizor below a horizontal slit for the sight. In his right hand is a sword. The front of his body is covered by a shield charged with the royal arms of Scotland. The horse has a caparison flying freely, and is open behind so that the tail comes through. The head of the horse bears as a crest, between its ears, a fleur-de-lis or trefoil. Each part of the caparison is charged with the royal arms of Scotland reversed. As on the obverse, the words of the legend are separated from one another by slipped trefoils.

Legend : ROBERTVS DEO RECTORE REX SCOTTORVM.

No. 24. *Robert Bruce, Second Seal* (4.1 in. diam.).—The king, with long curling hair, enthroned, crowned, robed very much as Alexander III (No. 13), but without girdle; the sleeves also are a little longer, and are wide and open at the end. The right arm is extended, and the hand holds a sceptre foliated at the top, and has two knobs on its stem. The left hand is raised to the breast, and two fingers hold the cords of the mantle. The throne is of similar construction to that seen in Seal No. 21; but here the side-pieces are arched, and have a row of beads along the top, and the dogs' heads are turned downwards and inwards. An ornamented piece of drapery is thrown loosely over the centre of the seat, and extends a considerable way up the arms.

Legend: ROBERTVS DEO RECTORE REX SCOTTORV/M.

No. 25. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right, clothed in mail armour, with surcoat terminating apparently at the hips, on which is embroidered a lion rampant to the sinister. The king wears a grated helmet crowned, turned three-quarters to front. In his right hand he carries a sword. In front of the body is a shield, the whole face of which is seen charged with the royal arms of Scotland. The horse wears a caparison, on which the royal arms of Scotland reversed, appear in front of and to the rear of the rider. Part of the horse's tail is shown issuing from under the caparison, which is lifted up by its action.

Legend: ROBERTVS/ DEO RECTORE RE/X SCOTORVM.

No. 26. *David II, 1329-1370, First Seal* (4.1 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, crowned, and robed, very similar to No. 24; but the king's feet rest upon two wyverns whose tails are convoluted in the centre of the Seal; their heads, at the end of their long necks, are turned upwards and inwards. The arms of the throne have no return, but the dogs' heads at their ends point outwards and upwards. On the field of the Seal, and close to the king's left ear, is the letter D.

Legend: DAVID DEI [GRACI]A /REX SCOTTOR/VM.

No. 27. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right; the same as No. 25, but with the following differences:—the helmet of the king is seen full face; the surcoat (or cyclas, for it is short and open half

way down the side) is charged with the royal arms of Scotland (the lion turned to the dexter). On the king's right shoulder is an ailette charged with the royal arms of Scotland reversed. Laing says that genouillères make their first appearance here; but the impressions that I have seen have not been perfect enough for me to endorse this statement. Upon the band, after the last word in the legend, is a wyvern.

Legend: DAVID /DEI G/RATIA REX SCOTTORVM.

No. 28. *David II, Second Seal* (2.9 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, with flowing hair, moustache, and double pointed beard; crowned, wearing long robes which completely hide his feet. Around his neck is a short cape without any opening in it. The sleeves of his robes extend to the wrists, and are open and very wide. With his right hand he grasps a sceptre with foliated top, which the king holds obliquely across the right shoulder. The throne has a back, and is richly ornamented, but is not furnished with a cushion. Two sprays of foliated ornament fill up the field of the Seal on each side of the throne. There is a cross flory at the commencement of the legend.

Legend: SIGILLVM DAVID DEI GRATIA REGIS SCOTTOV.

No. 29. *Counterscal.*—The royal arms of Scotland on a shield, surmounted by a circle, ornamented with cusps.

Legend: SIGILLVM DAVID DEI GRATIA REGIS SCOTTO....

No. 30. *Edward Balliol, 1332-1335* (3.9 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, crowned, clothed in a loose garment extending to his ankles, drawn in at the waist by a girdle, with sleeves cut off at the elbows, wearing the mantle fastened in front of the neck by a large brooch. In his right hand he holds a sceptre foliated at the top. His left hand rests upon an orb which is placed on the seat of the throne. The throne has a back, is richly carved, and is furnished with a very small cushion. On the top of two of the crocketed pinnacles of the back of the throne, nearest to the king's head, are two birds, each turned inwards. On the field of the Seal, to the king's right, is a small shield charged with a lion rampant. In a similar position, on the king's left, is another small shield charged with an orle, the Balliol arms.

Legend: EDWARDVS DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORVM.

No. 31. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right. The king is armed in ring-mail, over which he wears a long surcoat extending below the knee. The surcoat is embroidered with the royal arms of Scotland. The king wears a grated helmet (shown in profile) with a slit for sight ; crowned ; and carries in his right hand a sword, to the handle of which is fastened a chain passing up to his neck. In front of the king is a small shield, nearly the whole face of which is displayed, charged with the royal arms of Scotland. The saddle has a high pommel and cantle, or enclosing pieces both in front and to the rear of the body. The king wears a spur of the shape of a mullet of six points. The horse wears a caparison in two pieces, each charged with the royal arms of Scotland reversed, a bridle, and a fan-shaped crest.

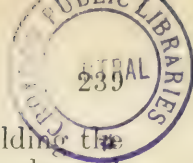
Legend : ED/WARDVS DEI GRATIA / REX SCOTORVM.

No. 32. *Robert II*, 1370-1390 (4.25 in. diam.).—The king enthroned, crowned, clothed in a loose garment extending to his feet and covering them, and with sleeves terminating a little above the wrist. No girdle is worn. The king wears a mantle with cords tied in front of his body, and hanging down to the waist. These ends are held by the king's left hand. His right hand holds a sceptre with a foliated top. The seat of the throne is placed under a projecting Gothic canopy richly ornamented. On each side, in a niche, under embattled buttresses, is a grotesque figure supporting a shield charged with the royal arms of Scotland. Over the battlemented walls, above the niches, appears a man-at-arms on each side of the throne. Beneath the architectural support to the throne are clouds. On the band bearing the legend a winged wyvern is placed after the last word.

Legend : ROBERTVS DEI GRATIA / REX SCOTORVM.

No. 33. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right. The king is clad in plate-armour, over which he wears a jupon embroidered with the royal arms of Scotland, the lower part adorned with fringe. The helmet is shown full-face, round at the top, with two slits for sight, and is surmounted by a crest, a lion statant to the sinister, guardant, with a very long, wavy tail. The king bears in his right hand a sword. In front of his body is a shield charged with the royal arms of Scotland. From





under the shield comes the king's left hand holding the reins. The horse is clothed with a caparison charged with the royal arms of Scotland reversed. A pectoral band is seen in front of the horse. Underneath the horse, following the outline of the seal, is ground resembling clouds.

Legend : ROBERTVS DEI GRA/CIA REX SCOTTORVM.

No. 34. *Robert III*, 1390-1406, *First Seal* (4.25 in. diam.).—This Seal is exactly the same as No. 32.

No. 35. *Counterseal*.—The same as No. 33, with the following differences: (1) above the crest is a mullet pierced; (2) the field of the Seal is enriched with foliated ornament after the Italian style.

No. 36. *Robert III*, *Second Seal* (3 in. diam.).—The king enthroned and crowned. The size and design of this Seal is very similar to that of David II's Second Seal, No. 28, but the following differences are at once discernible: (1) the size is a little larger; (2) the king's left hand is laid upon his breast instead of in his lap; (3) the sceptre is longer, and has no knob at the one end, and at the top has a well-formed fleur-de-lis; (4) there are no sprays of foliated ornament on the field of the Seal on each side of the throne; but (5) a series of cusps run round the line enclosing the central design; (6) at the commencement of the legend is an estoile in place of a cross flory.

Legend : \* SIGILLVM ROBERTI DEI GRACIA REGIS SCOT-TOV.

No. 37. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback galloping to the right, in plate-armour, wearing a crowned helmet with large, projecting, quaint front-piece, bearing in his right hand a sword. In front of the body is a shield, the face of which is fully displayed, charged with the royal arms of Scotland. The king is spurred with a rowel of six points. The horse wears a caparison not ornamented; the tail is clearly shown. The device is surrounded at the top by cusplings, and underneath the horse by round small mounds covered with grass.

Legend: SIGILLVM ROBERTI DEI GRATIA REGIS SCOTTOV.

No. 38. *Robert (Duke of Albany)*, *Regent*, 1406-1419 (4.25 in. diam.).—This Seal is similar to that of Robert III (No. 34), but has the following important differences:—(1) instead of a crown the Regent wears a coronet with

fine balls or pearls ; (2) instead of a sceptre the Regent holds a sword in his right hand ; (3) the shields on each side of the Regent are of better shape ; (4) the shield on the Regent's left is charged with the following arms (in place of the royal arms of Scotland) : quarterly, 1st and 4th, a lion rampant, for *Fife* ; 2nd and 3rd, a fesse chequy, for *Stewart* ; differenced by a label of three points : (5) the characters of the legend are black letter instead of Gothic.

Legend : SIGILLVM ROBERTI DVCIS ALBANIE GVBERNATORIS SCOCIE.

No. 39. *Counterseal*.—Similar to No. 35, except in the style of letter of the legend.

No. 40. *James I*, 1406-1437 (4.25 in. diam.).—The king enthroned and crowned. The design of this Seal is similar to that of Robert II (No. 32), with the following exceptions : (1) the crown upon the king's head is much larger ; (2) the sleeve on his left arm is much fuller below the elbow ; (3) the end of the sceptre is a fleur-de-lis ; (4) on each side of the throne is a small lion sejant affrontée ; (5) a mullet appears on the field of the Seal, under the letter c in JACOBVS.

Legend : JACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX .....

No. 41. *Counterseal*.—Very similar to No. 35, but—(1) the space enclosed by the front of the king's body, the lower outline of the shield and the neck of the horse, is deeper and larger ; (2) the position of the king's left hand and the reins are also different ; (3) the floriated ornament on the field of the Seal, and numerous other details, are also different.

Legend : JACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX ..... SCOTORVM.

No. 42. *James II*, 1437-1460 (4.25 in. diam.).—This Seal is the same as No. 40, with the addition of four annulets,—two in the field of the Seal, above the pinnacles on the top of the throne ; and two between the skirts of the king's robes and the small lions on each side. The circle enclosing the legend is ornamented with small quatrefoils. (These may be on James I's Seal, but I have not seen any impression perfect enough to enable me to state the fact definitely one way or the other.)

No. 43. *Counterseal*.—The same as No. 41, with the following differences : the addition of a small crown

between the king's right arm and his sword; and four annulets,—two, one above and one beneath the neck of the horse; two on the hinder caparison, below the lion on the field of the arms.

No. 44. *James III*, 1460-1488 (4.25 in. diam.).—The same as No. 42.

No. 45. *Counterseal*.—The same as No. 43, with the addition of a small, elongated fleur-de-lis beneath the fetlock of the right fore-leg of the horse.

No. 46. *James IV*, 1488-1513 (4.25 in. diam.).—The same as No. 44.

No. 47. *Counterseal*.—The same as No. 45, except the annulet under the horse's neck, which is altered into a sort of three-looped knot or trefoil; and a portion of a leaf or quatrefoil shows under the lower half of the annulet above the neck of the horse.

This Seal was also used by *James V* as late as 8 July 1540.

No. 48. *James V*, 1513-1542 (4.2 in. diam.).—This Seal is a poor imitation of No. 40. The mullet and the lions are altogether absent here, as are the annulets introduced into Nos. 42, 44, and 46. The crown is smaller. The body of the king is more like the figure of a female. The king's knees are ridiculously wide apart. The top of the sceptre terminates in one large and two small fleurs-de-lis. The men on the battlements are ungainly in their appearance, and the one to the king's left rests his left hand upon the head of a battle-axe. The clouds under the King's throne appear as small mounds covered with slipped trefoils. The lines encircling the legend resemble ropes both here and on the counterseal. On the band bearing the legend foliated work separates the end from the beginning.

Legend: JACOBVS DEI GRACIA REX SCOTORVM.

No. 49. *Counterseal*.—Resembles No. 41. The annulets, the crown, the fleur-de-lis, and trefoil, subsequently added to No. 41, have all disappeared. The crest on the king's helmet, the lion statant, is much larger, and has a tail terminating in four parts. The foliated ornament on the field of the Seal resembles trefoils, not quatrefoils, mingled with rudely engraved fleurs-de-lis. Between the crest and the commencement of the legend is a cross.



The S's on this side as well as on the other side of the Seal are very squat and ugly.

Legend: ✠ JACOBVS DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORVM.

No. 50. *Mary*, 1542-1568, *First Seal* (4 in. diam.).—The queen enthroned, crowned, holding in her right hand a sceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lis; her left hand is laid upon her breast, immediately below the fastening of her mantle. The throne is in the Italian style of architecture, with two ornamental columns in front, which with the back support a tester; on the front of which is a cherub's head between two wings, and other ornamental devices and scrollwork.

Legend: MARIA DEI GRATIA REGINA SCOTORV.

No. 51. *Counterseal*.—A shield charged with the royal arms of Scotland, encircled below and on both sides with the collar of the Order of the Thistle, ensigned with a crown. The crown has above the jewelled band three large fleurs-de-lis, one in the centre, and one at each end. Between the large fleurs-de-lis is a cross pattée, and between each large fleur-de-lis and each cross is a small fleur-de-lis. From each of the large fleurs-de-lis proceeds a band crocketed; all meeting in the centre, where appears a small orb ensigned with a cross pattée. The shield is supported on each side by a unicorn collared and chained. Their tails are forked at the end. Each of the unicorns supports a lance. The butt-ends of these lances rest on the ground, below the shield, and cross each other below the collar of the Thistle. The other ends of the lances appear above the heads of the unicorns, and there carry each a small square flag flying inwards, charged with the cross of St. Andrew enfiled in the centre with an open crown. (The flag above the dexter supporter is so indistinct that I cannot feel sure that the cross is enfiled with a crown.) Behind each unicorn, on the field of the Seal, is a small thistle leaved and ensigned with a crown. At the bottom of the Seal there is a representation of ground, from which spring two leaved thistles, one passing to the right, and another to the left. In the band, at the commencement of the legend, is a thistle ensigned with a crown, on each side of which is a small cross composed of five beads.

Legend: SALVVM FAC POPVLVM TVVM DNE.



No. 52. *Mary, Second Seal* (4 in. diam.).—The queen enthroned, crowned, holding in her right hand a sceptre terminating in the hand of Justice, and in her left a sceptre of ornamented stem, terminating in a fleur-de-lis. The queen wears a long mantle fastened below the neck, opening and separating as it falls. She rests her arms upon the two sides of her throne, which is without a back. The throne is placed under a canopy with a scalloped valence, from beneath which falls, in richest profusion, such ample drapery, caught up and festooned on each side, as to completely fill the field of the Seal.

Legend : ✠ MARIA DEI GRATIA REGINA SCOTORVM.

No. 53. *Counterseal* (1½ in. diam.).—A shield charged with the royal arms of Scotland ensigned with a crown showing four fleurs-de-lis and three crosses pattée, from the top of each of which proceeds a thin band ; all meeting in the centre, thus covering the crown with six arches. The spaces on each side of the shield are filled with small scrollwork.

No. 54. *Francis and Mary* (3.8 in. diam.).—The king and queen sitting on one throne, under the overhanging, fringed, escalloped drapery of a tent, the sides of which are drawn out and festooned in the margin of the device. Each sovereign has a tasselled footstool. The king, crowned, wears a robe covered with fleurs-de-lis, and a small cape, over which appear the collar and badge of *some order of knighthood*, probably that of *St. Michael*.<sup>1</sup> Both of his arms move upwards from the elbow. In his right hand he holds the sceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lis ; in his left a sceptre terminating in the hand of Justice. The queen wears a mantle fastened by short cords in the front of the neck. Her right hand rests on her knee, and holds the sceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lis ; her left arm is turned upwards at the elbow, and her left hand holds a sceptre terminating in the hand of Justice. In the tent above the sovereigns' heads the valence has a fleur-de-lis at the top of each scallop. The curtains of the tent are ornamented all over with fleurs-de-lis. In the exergue of the Seal, under the footstools, is the date 1559.

<sup>1</sup> The Order of St. Michael was instituted in 1459, and was held in estimation for about a century ; but subsequently it fell into disrepute from the easy way in which it was acquired.

Legend : FRANCISCVS ET MARIA D : G : R : R : FRANCOR :  
SCOT : ANGL : ET HYBER :

No. 55. *Counterseal* (2.3 in. diam.).—A shield charged with the following arms, per pale; the dexter impalement is divided per fesse, the arms in chief being three fleurs-de-lis for *France*; those in base being three lions passant gardant in pale for *England*. The sinister impalement is charged with the royal arms of *Scotland*. The shield is ensigned with a crown. The whole device is surrounded by a simple circular line.

No. 56. *Mary, Fourth Seal* (4.5 in. diam.).—The queen enthroned, crowned; head slightly turned, looking to her right; wearing a mantle fastened across the breast by a short band; holding perpendicularly, in her right hand, a very long sceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lis; and obliquely, in her left hand, a shorter sceptre terminating in the hand of Justice; her feet resting on a cushion. The throne is very broad, and without a back. Behind the figure of the queen is a tent with the curtains drawn aside, and festooned at the sides of the Seal. The upper part of the tent is surrounded by a short scalloped valence ornamented at the points of junction of the escallops by thistles and tassels.

Legend : MARIA DEI GRATIA SCOTORVM REGINA.

No. 57. *Counterseal* (2 in. diam.).—A shield charged with the following arms: per pale, the dimidiated arms of *France* (the full arms being three fleurs-de-lis) on the dexter side, and the royal arms of *Scotland* on the sinister side; ensigned with a crown. The crown is of a different design from that which appears on the Seal No. 55. Above a narrow, jewelled band are three fleurs-de-lis; between each two fleurs-de-lis is a cross pattée with a pearl or ball projecting from the upper and two side-limbs; between each fleur-de-lis and each cross is another pearl or ball. The crown has four arches, all meeting in the centre, under a central pearl or ball. The enclosing circles of this counterseal are simply ornamented.

No. 58. *Mary, Fifth Seal* (4.75 in. diam.).—The queen enthroned, crowned. The design of this Seal is similar to that of the last, No. 56; but the queen holds in her right hand a much shorter sceptre, and this terminates

in the hand of Justice, whilst the sceptre in her left hand terminates in a fleur-de-lis. The top of the tent is ornamented with cherubs' heads in place of thistles, and the tassels are fuller. In the exergue, under the throne, is some foliated ornament on the band, bearing the legend above the top of the tent. Between all the words in the legend is a small flower with two leaves on a stalk.

Legend: MARIA DEI GRA: REGINA SCOTORVM DOTARIA FRANCIE.

No. 59. *Counterseal*.—A shield divided per pale, bearing on the dexter the dimidiated arms of *France*, and on the sinister the royal arms of *Scotland*. The shield is ensigned with the crown, the same as on Seal No. 51, except that the cross on the top of the crown is perfectly plain (not pattée). The shield is surrounded on its two sides and its base by the collar of the Order of the Thistle, and the badge of the same Order pendent therefrom. The shield and crown are supported by two unicorns, one on each side, which also support spears, the lower points of which pass through rings lying upon the ground, which extends across the bottom of the Seal. Just below the spear-heads are flags flying outwards, each charged with the Cross of St. Andrew, enfiled in the centre with a crown. The background of the Seal is covered by foliated ornament. A large thistle is placed on the band, at the commencement of the legend.

Legend: SALVVM FAC POPVLVM TVVM DOMINE.

No. 60. *James VI*, 1568-1625, *First Seal* (4 in. diam.).—The same as Queen Mary's First Seal, No. 50, except the legend.

Legend: IACOBVS DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORV.

No. 61. *Counterseal*.—Precisely the same as No. 51.

No. 62. *James VI*, *Second Seal* (4.5 in. diam.).—The king on horseback, galloping to the right, fully protected by armour. The helmet is open, with the vizor up, showing the king's face in profile. Five feathers proceed from the back of the helmet. The body-armour is thus described by Laing,<sup>1</sup>—"The cuirass, rather globular in form, finished with the ridge called the tapul in front; the pauldrons with passe-gardes, the large elbow-pieces, the genouillères, with plates to protect the

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Scottish Seals*, by H. Laing (Edinburgh, 1850), p. 16.



joint behind; the lamboys (which seem not to be of plate, but of some stiff fabric, forming a skirt) extending from the waist to the knee ..... are all well expressed." The armour is fluted and engraved, double lines appearing between ovals and other devices. The king brandishes a sword in his right hand, and holds the reins in his left. The head and neck of the horse are protected by a *testière* ornamented by a plume of fine feathers. Over the body is a *caparison* divided into two pieces; that in front of the king, passing round the breast of the horse, is ornamented with a large thistle and leaves, and surrounded by a wide ornamental border. The piece behind the king is ornamented with a shield bearing the royal arms of Scotland, and ensigned with the royal crown, and surrounded by a floriated ground with an ornamental border. The lower edge of the *caparison* is ornamented with a row of tassels. The horse's tail, which is bound with thread some little way after leaving the body, is passed through a small opening made for it in the *caparison*. The hind legs of the horse press a grassy piece of ground which fills up the bottom of the Seal. Behind the king and the horse is a foliated pattern covering the field of the Seal.

Legend: IACOBVS SEXTVS DEI / GRATIA REX SCOTORVM.

No. 63. *Counterseal*.—A shield charged with the royal arms of Scotland, surrounded on three sides by the collar of the Order of the Thistle, pendent from which is the badge of the Order. Above the shield is a royal helmet, above which are the royal crown and crest, the latter being a lion *séjant affrontée*, crowned, holding in its dexter paw a sword, and its sinister paw a sceptre, behind the head of which is a riband bearing the motto, IN DEFENS. From between the helmet and the royal crown proceeds a lambrequin, filling up the upper part and sides of the Seal. The shield and the helmet are supported on each side by unicorns regally gorged and chained. Through the rings at the end of the chains pass the butt-ends of spears, the heads of which appear above and behind the heads of the unicorns, each bearing a banner flying outwards. The banner behind the dexter supporter is charged with the cross of St. Andrew, surmounted in the centre by a crown. The banner behind the sinister



supporter is charged with the royal arms of Scotland. The supporters, the rings, the ends of the spears, the badge of the Thistle, all rest upon some grassy ground which extends right across the bottom of the Seal. The words in the legend are separated from one another by leaves.

Legend : SALVVM FAC POPV/LUM TVVM DOMINE.

No. 64. *James VI (I of England), Third Seal* (5.5 in. diam.).—A shield charged with the following arms : quarterly, 1st and 4th, a lion rampant within a double tressure flory, counterflory, for *Scotland* ; 2nd, quarterly, first and fourth, three fleurs-de-lis for *France* ; second and third, three lions passant, guardant in pale for *England* ; 3rd, a harp for *Ireland*. The shield is surrounded below and on the two sides by the collar of the Order of the Thistle, pendent from which is the badge of the same Order. Ensigning the shield is the royal Scottish crown. The crown on this Seal is ornamented above the band by three fleurs-de-lis with two small crosses pattée between them. The shield is supported on its sinister and dexter sides by a unicorn and a lion coué respectively, both crowned. The unicorn is gorged regally and chained. Behind the shield are two spears in saltire, the butt-ends resting on the ground below the shield, the heads showing above the shields, each bearing a small banner flying outwards ; that towards the unicorn being charged with the cross of St. Andrew, that flying towards the lion with the cross of St. George. Between the collar of the Thistle and the supporters is a very thin, elongated, inscribed garter. From the end of the garter hangs the badge of the Order of that name.

Legend : IACOBVS D: G: MAG: BRIT: FRAN: ET HIB: REX.

No. 65. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the right. The king is crowned (without a helmet), his face turned three-quarters to the front. He wears a cuirass “protecting the upper part of the body”, says Laing, “and the traces of three lames, the lower from the waist to the thighs, which latter are protected by similar lames or plates lapping over each other horizontally. The legs are without armour of any kind, having the thick jackboots, which now began to supersede the ancient jambrets.” His right hand, protected by a gauntlet,

holds the handle of a sword which passes over the king's head, but the end of which is cut off by the circle enclosing the design. The arm is further protected by a vambrace and elbow-piece. The horse has no armour. It bears a bridle with ornamented reins. A small, short caparison hangs in front of the king, charged with a large thistle between two leaves. From underneath the saddle hangs a small, square saddlecloth overlapping the front caparison. On the hind-quarters of the horse is another small, short caparison charged with a large rose. The horse's tail, which is bound round with cord, near the body, passes through an opening made for it in the caparison. The two caparisons and the saddlecloth all bear richly ornamented borders. The hind-hoofs of the horse press the ground, which extends across the bottom of the Seal, and is richly carpeted with flowers. On the ground of the Seal, between the king's right arm and the horse's tail, is a portcullis. In front of the king's head is a fleur-de-lis.

Legend: DEVS IVDICIUM TVVM REGI DA.

No. 66. *Charles I, 1625-1649, First Seal.*—This Seal is the same as the third of James VI (No. 64), except in the legend, where IACOBVS has been altered to CAROLVS.

Legend: CAROLVS D: G: MAG: BRIT: FRAN: ET HIB: REX.

No. 67. *Counterseal.*—This is precisely the same as No. 65.

This Seal was used also by Charles II at Edinburgh, 1st March 1650.

No. 68. *Charles I, Second Seal* (6 in. diam.).—The general design the same as that of No. 64; but the shield is smaller, and is placed on ornamented scrollwork. The crown is of a different shape, being higher in the centre and wider at the base. Above the band are three fleurs-de-lis, between each two of which is a small cross, and a pearl or ball separates each fleur-de-lis and cross. The crown has four arches. The banners are extremely long, the ends passing behind the supporters; the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George appearing on the front folds. The badges of the Orders of the Thistle and the Garter are smaller and closer together. The unicorn's tail is like that of a horse, and not that of a kangaroo. The outer fillet represents thistles and roses alternately. The circle within the legend represents a rope.

Legend: CAROLVS D: G: SCOTIÆ ANGLIÆ FRAN: ET HIBERNIÆ REX FIDEI DEFENSOR.

No. 69. *Counterseal*.—The king on horseback, galloping to the left, in complete armour; the helmet open, showing the features very characteristically rendered; holding in the right hand a sword, which passes above the helmet, and the point of which touches the outer border. The left hand holds the reins. On the left arm is a small shield, covering the elbow and the lower part of the body. Two very large feathers sweep backward from the helmet, and two smaller ones rise to the outer border above. The right hand, sword, and part of the helmet, break across the inner border, and divide the legend. The horse is entirely devoid of armour. The saddlecloth is very small and square, and is slightly ornamented. Under the body of the horse are seen Edinburgh, Arthur's Seat, etc., respecting which Laing says: "In the foreground is a very interesting view of Edinburgh from the north, with Arthur's Seat and the Pentlands in the distance. On the right is the Castle with its rocky eminence, and near to it the Old Weigh House, demolished by Cromwell; the next prominent feature, we suppose, may be the Old Greyfriars. The church of St. Giles appears also; and we see the long line of the High Street, from the Castle Hill, terminating in the gardens surrounding the Palace of Holyrood, which is represented in the plain at the left of the Seal. In the walls are seen two ports, which are probably intended for the 'Water Yet', or Leith Wynd, and the ancient gate at the foot of Leith Wynd, called St. Andrew's Port. In the foreground of this is a building which, from its position, we may suppose was meant for the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity."

Legend: IVSTITIA ET VERITAS.

## ON THE RELICS AND MEMENTOS OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read 21 Nov. 1888.*)

WE seem to live in an age when historic anniversaries cluster thick and fast around us. Last year America celebrated the centenary of her New Constitution, the British dominions were jubilant that Queen Victoria had completed the fiftieth year of her reign, and Peterborough was not unmindful that 1887 was the tercentenary of the death of Mary Stuart; the Roman Pontiff inaugurated the present year with his jubilee; the centenary of the death of Prince Charles Edward, on January 31, was not forgotten by the descendants of his adherents, if they made but little outward signs of their unshaken loyalty to the exiled house of Stuart.<sup>1</sup> This year brings, too, with it the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry V, the victor of Agincourt, and the tercentenary of the defeat of the Spanish armada, two events which fill the English heart with honest pride and highest gratitude to Heaven. In 1788 our forefathers celebrated the centenary of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 with religious services, balls, and banquets, fireworks, and illuminations, and by the erection of monuments and the issue of various medallions; and their descendants are called on this year to commemorate the bicentenary of the same stupendous event.<sup>2</sup> This, therefore, appears an

<sup>1</sup> On January 31 the portrait of the "Young Pretender", in my library, was draped with black crape; Dr. Lee, at All Saints, Lambeth, held a solemn service on this day; and a Requiem Mass for the repose of the Prince's soul was to have been performed at the Church of the Carmelites, Kensington, but was forbidden by the Cardinal Archbishop. Was this because Charles Edward had become a member of the Anglican Communion in 1753?

<sup>2</sup> I have two copper pieces struck on the centenary of the Revolution. One is thick, and about the size of half-a-crown. *Obv.*, within a border of oak-leaves, laureated bust of William III to the right; beneath, 1688. *Rev.*, British lion supporting the royal arms, and trampling on the emblems of Popery; above, REVOLUTION PENNY; beneath,



appropriate time to offer for the consideration of our Association a few scraps which I have gathered together touching the relics and mementos of William and Mary, the grandson and granddaughter of King Charles I.

William Henry, Prince of Orange, the posthumous son of William, Stadtholder of Holland, was born at the Hague, Nov. 4, 1650; and perhaps one of his earliest existing mementos is a large medal struck in 1654, on the obverse of which is his nearly full-faced bust wearing a flat hat with jewelled rosette and pendent feathers. Beneath is a scroll inscribed WILHELMVS . III . D . G . PRINC . ALAVS . ETC . AN . 1654. The reverse displays the profile bust of his august mother, with the legend, MARIA . DEI GRATIA PRINCEPS MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ AVRANTIÆ DOTARIA ETC. PABEELE . F. Though the Prince is here styled William III, he did not actually acquire possession of the Stadtholdership until 1672, and in the following year silver money was issued bearing his laurelled bust in armour.

In October 1677 the Prince of Orange paid a visit to England, and at St. James' Palace, on November 4th, espoused his cousin Mary, eldest daughter of James Duke of York by his first wife, Anne, eldest daughter of Hyde Earl of Clarendon. This royal union was a theme for the ballad-mongers, and the following verse of a doggerel ditty is often repeated in the present day :

“What is the rhyme for porringer?  
The King he had a daughter fair,  
And gave the Prince of Orange her.”<sup>1</sup>

On the occasion of the marriage of William and Mary at least two, and perhaps even more, *cassets*, or wedding-baskets, were constructed of beadwork on frames of iron wire. The one here described is an oblong square measuring nearly  $18\frac{1}{2}$  in. by close on  $14\frac{1}{2}$  in., with a large, open, trefoil handle rising at each end and at front and back of

branch of olive. The other is rather larger than the current halfpenny, thin, with engrailed edge. *Obv.*, laureated bust of the king to the right; legend, GVLIELMVS III . DEI . GRATIA . 1688. *Rev.*, in the field, within a wreath, <sup>NOVR</sup> 4111 1788; legend, GLORIOVS REVOLVTION JVBILEE.

<sup>1</sup> This song is given in *The Jacobite Minstrelsy*, p. 28. 12mo., Glasgow, 1828.

its sloping sides. On the bottom of the basket are effigies of the Prince and Princess *affrontée*, the face of each being drawn on silk. The Princess, who stands on the right of her spouse, has long, flowing hair; a pendant of five pearls on her breast; and a broad, white fall round the upper part of her purple dress, which has full sleeves with white cuffs, pointed body; and the shirt open in front, showing an under yellow garment. William has flowing hair, and holds his broad-brimmed, black hat in his left hand, and extends the right towards his bride. He has a row of pearls down the breast of his jerkin by way of buttons. He has wide trunks, and his black boots have lace tops.

These figures stand on a greensward, each attended by a white rabbit; and above, in the clouds, the sun sheds its rays on the youthful pair. On either side is a range of three animals in the following descending order: dexter side,—1, swan; 2, lion; 3, unicorn. Sinister side,—1, peacock; 2, unicorn; 3, lion. Conspicuous among the foliage and berries which decorate the sides of the casset is the orange, indicative of the domain of the Prince; and the peascod, the latter probably having some relation to “peascod wooing”, to which Touchstone refers in *As You Like It*, Act II, Sc. 4.

This account of the wedding-basket is drawn up from a ruined specimen in my possession; but I have been told that a similar example was exhibited at one of our Congresses presided over by Lord Albert Conyngham.

The newly married couple quitted England on Nov. 21, and arrived in Holland on the 29th of the same month, 1677. Few objects save medals now speak of the Continental life of either William or Mary, and it is not until we reach “the Glorious Revolution of 1688” that we meet with any relics or mementos worthy of notice; but the *Cock and Magpie* at Whittington, near Chesterford, Derbyshire, and Lady Place, between Maidenhead and Henley-on-Thames, demand naming, as each was a rendezvous of those who brought about the event we this year celebrate.

The first relic that claims attention is one of supreme interest, being no less than the ship in which the Prince of Orange embarked on Nov. 7, and from which he landed

at Torbay, Devon, on the ever to be remembered 5th of November. According to tradition the vessel was a Thames-built yacht, entitled by William *The Princess Mary*, in honour of his illustrious spouse. During the reigns of William and Mary and Queen Anne she continued to be employed as one of the royal yachts, but was at length sold by Government to Messrs. Walters of London, and was then renamed *The Betsy Cairns*, after some lady connected with the West Indies. She was subsequently used as a collier by Messrs. Carlens of London; but in 1827, after being afloat for nearly a century and a half, struck upon a reef of rocks called "The Black Middens", in the Tyne, and became a complete wreck. Her timbers were now a prey and a prize for the turner and wood-carver, and snuff-boxes, tobacco-stoppers, and other mementos, were wrought out of the oak which had borne in safety to our shores "the Defender of the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England", words which were inscribed upon his banner, with the old motto of the house of Nassau, "*Je Maintiendrai*" (I will maintain).<sup>1</sup>

At the Lancaster Congress of the Archæological Institute, held in July 1868, Miss Ffarington of Worden exhibited two quechs of silver, on mounts of wood, of the *Betsy Cairns*, and used as measures for morning draughts of whisky.<sup>2</sup>

Having spoken of the ship that brought the Prince of Orange to our shores, let us next proceed to the stone on which he first planted his foot on landing at Brixham, Torbay, the story of which is best told by Octavian Blewitt in his *Panorama of Torquay*:—

"On Sunday, July 20th, 1828, his present Majesty, then Duke of Clarence, landed at the new Quay at Brixham, under a salute from the Batteries, and the stone on which the third William had at first set his foot was brought from the old Quay to receive the same honour from his namesake and future successor. The inhabitants of Brixham evinced better taste and more scholarship

<sup>1</sup> An engraving of the *Princess Mary* yacht, and all the doubts and difficulties attending its history, are given in Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator*, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> See *Athenæum*, Aug. 15, 1868, p. 213.



than they are stated to have displayed in 1688. They presented His Royal Highness with an address in well-written prose, enclosed in a box of oak from the piles of the ancient bridge at Totnes, and containing also a portion of the stone rendered thus remarkable. His Royal Highness returned a most appropriate reply, of which the concluding sentence was as follows: 'Recollecting as an Englishman the benefit conferred on this truly happy island by the landing of William III in this Bay, I shall ever preserve as a precious relic the portion of the stone on which King William III placed his foot when His Majesty first landed in England.'"<sup>1</sup>

Besides the stone on which the Prince first stepped on his arrival here, there is still preserved the identical banner which was borne before him, and which was once more unfurled at the opening of the Exeter Canal.<sup>2</sup> And the good people of Devon point to this day with pride to the stone near St. Leonard's Tower, on which William was first proclaimed after his landing on our shores.

On the 12th of February 1688-89, the Princess of Orange arrived at Whitehall from Holland, and on the following day "their Majesties accepted the crown and royal dignity of King and Queen of England",<sup>3</sup> and on April 11th were solemnly crowned at Westminster by Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. This event was recorded by the issue of a large medallion bearing on the obverse the profile busts, to the right, of the two sovereigns, circumscribed by the legend, *GVLIELMVS . ET . MARIA . D . G . MAG . BR . FR . ET . HIB . REX . ET . REGINA*; reverse, their enthroned effigies with a huge crown above them, upheld by a couple of prelates; legend, *IDOLOLATRIA . SERVITUTE*.

<sup>1</sup> At Hampton Court is a painting, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, of the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay. The event is also commemorated by a medal engraved by the Flemish artist, R. Arondeaux. One struck in gold is in the collection of Sir Henry Peek. I may here mention, as a somewhat curious linking together of distant periods, that when my uncle (who died in 1851) was taken to see his grandfather at Totnes, in 1777, he was nursed by an old man who as a child was present at the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay in 1688.

<sup>2</sup> In the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, Edinburgh, is the standard of the regiment of cavalry raised by Henry Erskine, Lord Cardross, to join the Prince of Orange in 1688.

<sup>3</sup> 1 W. and M., c. i.



PROFLIGATIS . RELIGIONE . LEGIB . LIBERTAT . RESTITVTIS .  
1689.

The shoes and sword which King William III is said to have worn at his coronation were long shown among the rarities in Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea; and a sceptre adorned with jewels and enamel, and presumed to have belonged to this monarch, is still preserved with the regalia in the Tower of London; where are also placed the diamond-set sceptre made for the coronation of Queen Mary, and her diadem composed of pearls and diamonds. And it may here be noted that the Duke of Portland has a full-length portrait of the King in his coronation-robes, painted by Kneller, and another of the Queen by the same artist.

The Great Seal of William and Mary gives on one side their enthroned effigies, the King holding a sword, and the Queen a sceptre, with a plinth between them, supporting the orb on which they rest their hands. Above are the royal arms, and the figures are flanked by crowned lions supporting banners. The inscription reads, GVLIELMVS . III . ET . MARIA . II . DEI . GRA . ANG . FRA . ET . HIB . REX . ET . REGINA , FIDEI . DEFENSORES, etc. On the opposite side of the seal are equestrian effigies of the royal pair, the King being habited as a Roman Cæsar, and holding a drawn sword in his hand. In the distance is a view of the Thames with a portion of the City and Southwark. The surrounding legend is the same as that on the obverse of the seal.

On June 11, 1690, King William embarked for Ireland, and arrived at Carrickfergus on the 14th, events which lead us on to fresh relics and mementos. In an Irish newspaper of August 13, 1859, entitled *The Conserver-tice*, it is stated, "there is in the possession of a lady at Belfast a chair in which William III sat during his stay in that town on his way to the Boyne." On July 1st he arrived at the Boyne, and as he rode along its banks received a wound in the shoulder from a cannon-ball; and the handkerchief which Lord Conynsby applied to the wound is still preserved in an elegant casket in the library of Hampton Court, Herefordshire.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See *Genl. Mag.*, July 1825, p. 19. The room in this mansion, in which the King slept when he visited Lord Conynsby, remains in the same state as when occupied by him.

wound is thus mentioned in the old song of "The Boyne Water":

"A bullet from the Irish came,  
Which grazed King William's arm ;  
They thought His Majesty was slain,  
Yet it did him little harm."

The identical spurs worn by King William at the Battle of the Boyne were preserved for some time in an Irish family, and were then presented by one of its members to the Earl of Harcourt whilst Lord Lieutenant (1772-77), and by him to Horace Walpole. They were kept in a red leather box lined with green velvet, and when the Strawberry Hill Collection was sold off, in 1842, constituted lot 86 of the sixteen days' sale, realising the sum of £13 : 2 : 6.

At the sale of the Crofton Croker Collection by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, Dec. 22, 1854, lot 341 is thus described in the Catalogue: "William III.—A pair of the King's gloves, leather, the cuffs embroidered with gold thread. In carved oak case, glazed. This pair of gloves, which there are good reasons for believing were those worn by William III at the memorable Battle of the Boyne, were given to me on the 20th of August 1850 by the Baron Sir William Dillon, Bart., at Lismullen Park, co. Westmeath, in the room where, according to tradition (and there is no reason to doubt it), William III slept from the 2nd to the 4th of July 1690, and which probably had been previously occupied by James II." (Extract from private manuscript memorandum by Mr. Croker.) These gloves were knocked down for the sum of £2 : 12.

The victory of the Boyne was memorialised in many ways, and among others by the production of a round gold watch, formerly in the Bernal Collection. This watch has on the dial an enamel of St. George and the Dragon, the hands are set with rose-diamonds, the sides are enamelled in flowers, within is a landscape, and on the back, William on a white horse, at the Battle of the Boyne. This interesting bijou is signed "Josephus Norris, Amsterdam", and was probably made for the King or some member of the royal family.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The last living relic of the Battle of the Boyne was probably Matthew Champion, who died at Yarmouth, Oct. 9, 1793, aged one hundred and eleven, and who, though a child at the time, was with his

A watch which belonged to William III was sold with the rest of the treasures of Stowe House in 1848. It is of silver, made by Bushman of London, and has on its face a medallion of the monarch. Daniel Quare, the Quaker, made a repeating watch for William III, which is still in good condition.

We meet with but few personal relics of William III, but some of them may be here pointed out.

In the jewel-closet at Burleigh House, the seat of the Marquess of Exeter, is a pocket-handkerchief which belonged to the King; and in the state-bed dressing-room is a superb set of toilet articles of gilt silver, once the property of the same monarch. There still remains at Hampton Court a pair of handsome silver-gilt fire-dogs with the King's crowned cipher, made in 1696; and in the first presence-chamber is the canopy of his throne, with his arms and the Dutch motto, "*Je Maintiendrai*". In another apartment of the same Palace are shown the state-beds of William and Mary, and in a third room are some chairs which are believed to have been embroidered by the Queen.

In the Forman Collection at Pip Brooke House, Dorking, is a splendid Chinese coverlet of crimson satin adorned with animals, birds, flowers, and other devices, wrought in rich and varied coloured silks, and measuring 9 ft. 9 in. in length by 6 ft. 5 in. in width, which is said to have belonged to Queen Mary, and to have been presented to her by her father, James II. This gorgeous specimen was obtained on the Continent over thirty years since, and there is every reason to put faith in the statement received with it.

Two other reputed relics of the same Queen were sold at Wellington Street in June 1857, and are described in the Catalogue thus: "Lot 111. A necklace and earrings of amber beads, mounted in gold and enamelled. These belonged to Mary, the daughter of James II, and wife of William III."

When the good and gentle Queen Mary II had reached father at the memorable conflict. A quaint memento of the battle was presented to George IV on his visit to Ireland in 1821, namely a lyre, in which the shell consisted of the skull of the horse which Duke Schomberg rode during the fight. See J. W. Croker's *Correspondence and Diaries*, vol. ii, p. 207.



her thirty-third year she fell a victim to small-pox, breathing her last on Dec. 28, 1694, in the royal Palace of Kensington. Her body, after lying in state at Whitehall, was interred in a vault beneath Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, the funeral sermon being preached by Dr. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury.

A few mortuary mementos of the Queen must now be referred to, the most touching being the ring containing some of her hair, which was found tied by a black ribbon to the left arm of King William immediately after his death.

In the catalogue of Lord Braybrooke's collection of rings at Audley End, No. 123 is thus described: "A small and delicate lady's gold mourning ring, in memory of Queen Mary, wife of William III. The hoop, which is very slight, is inlaid upon the shoulders with black enamel, and surmounted by a square box for setting, ornamented with perpendicular lines of the same down the sides. The box contains a tress of the deceased Queen's hair plaited, with M.R. and a crown in small gold ciphers laid over it. A crystal cut into facets encloses them. The under side of the box has a Death's head and cross-bones inlaid in black enamel."

In our *Journal* (vol. v, p. 78) mention is made of one of the Queen's mortuary brooches inscribed "*Memento Maria Regin. obt. 28 Dec. 94.*"

Another record of the Queen's death must not be passed by in silence,—the letter in French, dated Kensington,  $\frac{3}{2}$  January 1695, which the King addressed to Charles Henri de Lorraine, Prince de Vaudemont, full of expressions of the deepest sorrow at his loss. This interesting document is in the British Museum.

Several medals were issued on the Queen's death. Among others may be cited one with her profile bust to the right, inscribed MARIA . D . G . M . BRIT . FRAN . ET . HIB . REGINA . F . D . P . A . The reverse represents the Queen in a canopied bed, with a seated figure of the King in the foreground, at whose feet are three kneeling figures. In the exergue is the legend, POPVLIS LIBERTATIS EREPTA OBIIT VII IAN MDCXCV. Another medal with this reverse has on the obverse the Queen's bust surrounded by the words DIVA MARIA BRIT. ORBIS ET TOTIVS EVROP. DECVS.



At University College, Oxford, is a statue of Queen Mary; and there was formerly another, with her husband, on the east side of the Quadrangle of the Royal Exchange, destroyed by fire, Jan. 10, 1838.

We must now return to the bereaved monarch, and speak of a few of his mementos.

It is needless to dwell on the King's accident on the road from Hampton, nor on the supervening fever which terminated fatally about eight of the clock in the morning of March 8, 1702. William expired in the same Palace where his beloved Queen had breathed her last eight years before, and was interred in the same vault at Westminster in which she was laid.<sup>1</sup> No monumental effigies point out the resting-place of either Sovereign, but waxen figures of William and Mary are to be seen among "the ragged regiment" in Westminster Abbey. And whilst on the subject of waxwork it may be added that William III is in Madame Tussaud's "Hall of Kings."

Trinkets were made in memory of William as they had been for his Queen. One is given in the catalogue of Lord Braybrooke's collection of rings at Audley End,— "No. 249. Royal mourning-ring; a slight gold hoop with a silver frame on the summit, set round with six small pearls, and made to imitate a buckle with a gold tongue across it, so that the band of it, visible below, resembles the garter. On one shoulder are two more small pearls, and the surface is covered with black enamel, with the inscription, in letters of gold, '*Gulielmus III Rex, 1702.*' After '*Rex*' is a Death's head of gold." The Baroness Burdett-Coutts has a highly interesting gold memorial ring of William III, set with a faceted crystal, beneath which is a portion of the King's hair, with crown and cipher in gold filigree. On the back is engraved "W. R., the 8th March 170 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Æta. 51, Nov. 4."

Various medals were issued on the King's death. One of the most curious bears his laurelled bust to the left, with the legend, GVLIELM . III . D . G . M . BRIT . FR . ET . HIB . REX . F . D . P . A. *Rev.*, the Monarch carried on an eagle's back to heaven; legend, CONSECRATIO GVLIELMI

<sup>1</sup> For some time after William's death there were a few heartless scoundrels who used to drink the health of "Sorrel", the little horse whose trip caused the fracture of the King's clavicle.

MAX.; exergue, OIBBONIS FLEBILIS OCCIDIT XIV KAL. APRIL. 1702.

Numerous epitaphs were composed on King William,<sup>1</sup> and our former Vice-President, the late Lord Boston, possessed a singular panegyric on the Sovereign, which must not be omitted. It is written within a woodcut-border,  $12\frac{7}{8}$  in. high by  $7\frac{5}{8}$  in. wide, in the centre of the upper part of which is a disc surrounded by scrollwork, and ensigned by a baron's coronet, and on either side a bold foliate scroll including a kneeling Cupid. The side-borders and base are likewise floral scrolls, upon which birds are placed, the whole design being coloured and gilt. The centre of the piece is painted a deep brown or black, and on this the following is written in white and gold letters :

“A true Encomium on King William y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>  
Humbly presented to the Right Honourable  
William Lord Paget, written by  
Jos<sup>h</sup> .....owes late Lieutenant.

“Hee was	His words few & Faithfull.
The Head, Heart and (Soul) of the	His Actions Manly & Heroick.
Confederates.	His Government without Tyranny.
The Assertor of Liberty (and) De-	His Justice without Rigour.
liverer of Nations.	His Religion without Superstition.
The Support of the Empire. [ders.	Hee was Great without Pride.
The Bullwark of Holland & Flaun-	Valiant without Violence.
The Preserver of Brittain.	Victorious without Tryumph.
The Reducer of Ireland.	Active without Weariness.
The Terror of France.	Cautious without Fear.
His thoughts were wise & Secret.	Meritorious without Thanks.

King, Queen, Prince (Subject ne'er yet) saw  
So wise, just, honest, valiant as Nassau.

He was —

But words are wanting to say what :  
Say all that 's Great & Good, & Hee was that.”

The author of this quaint “Encomium”, no doubt, served under “The Little Dutchman”, as William's foes were pleased to call him.

We must now refer to a few of the statues and busts which have been wrought in memory of our hero ; and first, of the charming little effigies in pipe-clay,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. high, which are thought by some to have been produced

<sup>1</sup> Three are given in Pettigrew's *Chronicles of the Tombs*, pp. 318-20.

about 1690, by John Dwight, at Fulham, but which may really have had their birth at Gouda. They represent the King standing, habited as a Roman Cæsar, but with a flowing wig, his right hand resting on the hilt of a sword at his left side. One of these rare statuettes was exhumed in Smithfield, Sept. 20, 1845, and is now in my collection.

The most renowned statue of King William is the equestrian one, of lead, set up on College Green, Dublin, July 1st, 1701, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. On its pedestal is the following inscription :

“Gulielmo Tertio  
Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ  
Regi,  
Ob Religionem Conservatum  
Restitutas Leges.  
Libertatem Assertam,  
Cives Dublinienses Hanc Statuam Posuere.”

Views of the statue are given in *The Mirror* (xxvii, p. 257) and in Chambers' *Book of Days* (ii, 9), in both of which works may also be seen accounts of the attacks which at various times have been made upon this fine monument; and it may just be noted that medallions of this College Green effigy are printed in black on the silk collars of the Orange Lodges, surrounded by the words, “The Constitution, the Whole Constitution, and Nothing but the Constitution.”

In the centre of Queen's Square, Bristol, raised on a lofty plinth, is a bronze equestrian statue of William III in Roman habit, his right arm extended, and in his hand a truncheon, with which he points as if in command. This is the work of John Michael Rysbrack.

In the Great Hall of the Bank of England is a fine pedestrian statue, by Cheere, of King William in Roman costume, with the following inscription beneath it :

“Ob  
Legibus vim,  
Judiciis Auctoritatem,  
Senatui Dignitatem,  
Civibus universis Jura sua,  
Tam Sacra, quam Civilia, Restituta,  
Et illustrissimæ Domus Hanoverianæ  
In imperium Britannicum Successione

Posteris confirmata,  
 Optimo Principi,  
 Gulielmo Tertio,  
 Conditori suo,  
 Grato Animo Posuit, dicavitque  
 hujus Ærarii Societas,  
 A. C. MDCCXXXIV. harumque Ædium I."

Which has been rendered into English thus: "For restoring Efficacy to the Laws, Authority to the Courts of Justice, Dignity to the Parliament, To all his Subjects their Religion and Liberties, And confirming these to Posterity, By the Succession of the illustrious House of Hanover To the British Throne: To the best of Princes, William the Third, Founder of the Bank, This Corporation, from a Sense of Gratitude, Has erected this Statue, And dedicated it to his Memory, In the Year of Our Lord 1734, And the first Year of this Building."<sup>1</sup>

In 1808 an equestrian statue, in bronze, of William III as a Roman emperor, was erected in St. James' Square, pursuant to the will of Samuel Travers, Esq., who died in 1724. It is the work of the younger Bacon, who modelled the horse from a favourite steed belonging to George III.

A bust of the Great Nassau appeared in "The Temple of British Worthies" at Stowe, accompanied by the following inscription: "King William III, who by his virtue and constancy having saved his country from a foreign master, by a bold and generous enterprise preserved the liberty and religion of Great Britain."

From sculpture pass we on to painting. The walls of many mansions and public edifices display portraits of William and Mary. At Hampton Court is a picture by Sir Peter Lely representing Mary whilst Princess of Orange, in the character of Diana, with bow and arrow; and in the same Palace is a youthful likeness of the Prince by Adrian Hanneman, and also portraits of the King and Queen by William Wissing. In the Council Room of Greenwich Hospital are half-length portraits of William and Mary by Sir Godfrey Kneller. In the Town Hall of Guildford are whole-length pictures of William and Mary. In London we find, in Painter-Stainers' Hall,

<sup>1</sup> See Maitland's *History of London*, ed. 1739, p. 623.



a full-length of the King, the work of and present from Sir Godfrey Kneller. Another full-length of the same monarch is in Merchant Taylors' Hall; and portraits of William and Mary, by Thomas Murray, decorate the Hall of the Fishmongers. In the British Museum was a painting of the King, which now forms part of the National Portrait Gallery. He is represented in armour, with a long military wig. In the same Gallery is a portrait of William as a boy, aged seven, painted by C. Janssen, and also one of Mary II by Wissing.

As might well be expected, there is no lack of miniatures of William III. Our good friend the Rev. S. M. Mayhew has lately purchased a massive and richly chased finger-ring of gold, set with an oval miniature of the King, nearly full-faced, the right shoulder being next the spectator. He is bare-headed, with flowing wig of dark brown curls; and over the shoulders is thrown a crimson mantle lined with ermine, and so arranged as to expose the bands of the steel pauldron. This miniature is said to have been painted by an artist named Fleming, and the trinket was formerly the property of Dr. Sadlier, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

The engraved portraits of William III are far too numerous to be here described, but two extremes may just be referred to,—one an oval, by N. Chevalier, within a border of leaves, on which are inscribed the chief events of his life; the other a rude woodcut, in which he stands holding the Bill of Rights, and is accompanied by the Queen. Beneath are these four lines:

“ William the hero, with Maria mild,  
(He James's nephew, she his eldest child),  
Fix'd freedom and the Church, reform'd the coin,  
Opposed the French, and settled Brunswick's line.”

For the convenience of those who care to test the accuracy of any of the above cited portraits of the great Hero and Deliverer, the following word-picture of him is extracted from Cunningham's *History of Great Britain*: “ King William was of a middle stature, and had chestnut coloured hair. He had a piercing eye, a hooked nose, round shoulders, and slender legs. His appearance was not uncomely, whether standing or sitting; but he was most graceful on horseback.”

In Larwood's *History of Sign-Boards* (p. 50) it is stated that William and Mary may still be seen as a tavern-sign at Maiden Causeway, Cambridge. Their portraits are found on a vast number of medals struck in this country and Holland, and on the Nuremburg jettons made by Lazarus Gotlieb Laufer. The King was not unfrequently depicted on the large Delft-ware chargers and other pieces of table-crockery, and graved and stamped on the lids of tobacco-boxes ; for artists of all degrees of merit, and craftsmen of every sort, exerted themselves to multiply trifles for the gratification of the Orange party of the seventeenth century, and which should preserve and hand down to posterity "*The Glorious and Immortal Memory of William III.*"

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## NOTES ON NORTH CAITHNESS AND ORKNEY.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read 20th February 1889.*)

As these Notes are written, the roll and scent of breaking seas, the whistle of western winds, the dream of ancient life, the memories of historic places, come again to me. The names and words of ancient Scandinavia, the rough inflection of Norse dialects, the bones of an almost forgotten people who have left us but few relics and not a name, the model and shape of viking ships sailing these northern seas, the pleasantly wild legends of ancient superstition, and stories of fierce mediæval warfare,—in these the archæological student, wandering to the far-off Orcadean islands, is relegated to and living in the past.

It may, perhaps, be said that in presence of its glorious coast-line there is little else to attract in Caithness as a district. In Pennant's day, indeed, it was little but a vast morass, and far removed from the amenities of civilisation; but the coast-line, *that* is literally garrisoned by strongholds,—towers and castles all in their day remarkable, alas! mostly so, for deeds of violence and wrong. Their history runs from the Norse settlement, *cir.* A.D. 800, to about 1680. Take for examples the old Norse fort on Duncansby and the interesting ruins of Keiss-Girnigoö, Sinclair, and other castles, in loneliness,—sentinels on the shores of the deep inlet of Sinclair Bay.

Though Caithness is at present very nearly woodless, evidences of a far different state of things exist in the carbonized forest trunks found near Keiss Castle and in other localities. This ravage of the woods is by some writers put down to Danish invasions; but looking to the geological formation of the country, its morasses and the destruction of forests may both, as in central Ireland, be more probably ascribed to want of drainage. The level and

bare character of the country has, however, the advantage of a relief in the solitary, glorious cone of Morven, through the base of which mountain runs the dividing line of Sutherland and Caithness-shires, once one county.

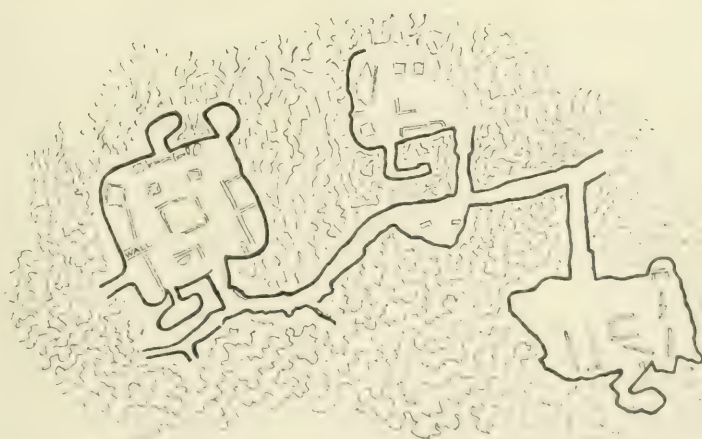
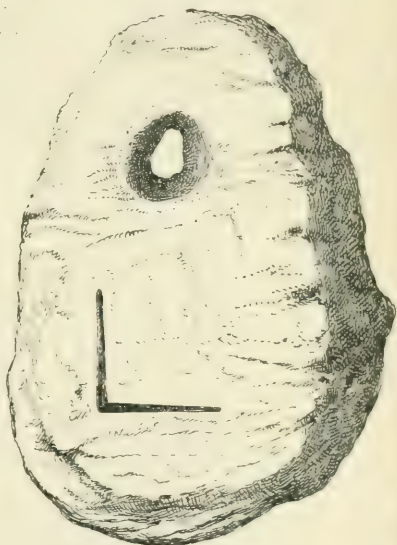
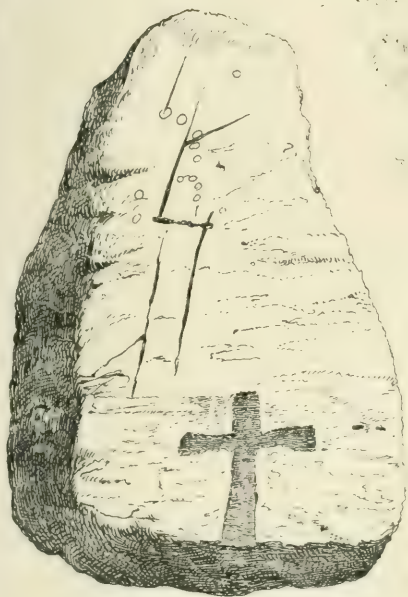
The geological formation is a secondary sandstone in layers, separating freely, and containing numerous fossils of ganoid fish (discovered and classified by Robert Dick of Thurso), some specimens of which are before you.

The present name of the county is a distortion of a Scandinavian original. In old Norse it is "*Katanes*", *i.e.*, the Noss or Nose of Cattey; Cattey having been, with Sutherlandshire, a name common for both counties. Tradition and history are alike silent on the aboriginal inhabitants of the district. They appear to have been of Gaelic rather than Pictish origin; and it is somewhat remarkable that Eumenius of Autun (*cir.* A.D. 297-308) writes of the Caledonians and Picts as the same people, "*Caledones aliiqui Picti*". So also the inclusive word "*Caledon*" (from which Caledonia is derived) means the wild man of the wood. We may probably have here a light thrown on the early life and being of the people of Caithness and the islands. Of the degree of their civilisation we know little but as disclosed from their sepulchral mounds. They appear to have lived as did the northern nations, fought and toiled as they with instruments and weapons of bone, stone, and bronze; erected the same forms of dwelling and fortification, practised the same funeral rites, with the same sepulchral chambers piled aloft into tall green hills.

About the year 920 Caithness came under subjection to Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, and bowed, more or less, four hundred years to this northern yoke. In this period the names of Harold Harfaager, Ronald, the father of Rollo, conqueror of Normandy, and ancestor of our William I, appear conspicuous in the record. So also do names of places in which are wrapped the expressions of Norse heathenism. Take two, Thurso and Hoborn Head, a celebrated promontory to the west. In the first name we have the Scandinavian *Thor*, and *aa*, a river (the river of Thor).<sup>1</sup> In the second name, Holli, goddess of Hell,

<sup>1</sup> It may be the deep sound of the heavy, falling, measured waves of Thurso Bay to superstitious imagination suggested also the echoing blows of the hammer of the god.







and Brion, the son or child (child of goddess of hell); and well and correctly is the promontory thus named.

From the grass-grown cliffs above Scrabster Bay the view is simply absorbing. On that bright September day, below moved smoothly the tranquil, blue waters of the deep inlet of Scrabster Roads; to the west, the steep altitudes of Hoborn Head; to the east, on a jutting rock, the sparse, grey ruins of Scrabster Castle, the site of an early missionary settlement from Iona; beyond, the curves of Thurso Bay, and the deep-set town just seen; rising above which is the tower of Harold, and miles away the precipices of Dunnet Head, forming, with Easter Head on the coast opposite, the narrow, western gate of the Pentland Fiord, the inlet of rough tides and the swift Gulf Stream; north, the Orkneys, red in summer sunshine, green in fertility, dark in cave-fissures; and towering over all the tremendous cliffs and celebrated Stack of Hoy.

Permit me to detain you on the summit and edge of Hoborn Head. From the west it has felt the full effect of the fierce artillery of the tides of the Pentland, and the gigantic forces of the western seas; the lofty sandstone rampart is shaken, burrowed, tunnelled, and torn. A stack of some 400 ft., a tower of rock, has by the perpetual Atlantic surge been cloven, and stands separate from the mainland cliff; its turrets yellowish grey, its base black with seaweeds and floating tangle. The quick flight of the puffin, displaying his white plumage, shows like a flash of light thrown upon those dark, heaving masses of weed; and birds innumerable float on the waves beneath our craggy eminence, an unmelted snowfall on the barren flood. It is possible, though hardly practicable, to reach opposite the base of this gigantic monolith by a dark, tunnelled, slippery, and dangerous way overhung by black and threatening rock, if one might keep his path with nerves unshaken, for the voice of the hungry, restless sea fills the rock-cavities, rushing and boiling in the darkness beyond.

Scrabster appears to have been about A.D. 600 a missionary settlement from Iona, led or directed by the great apostle, Columba; and from thence the true Light was carried through the islands to Ultima Thule. Scrabster

(now little more than a ragged wall), I fear too soon to fall defenceless before the waves, is a sacred and interesting spot. One of the earliest notices of the place and enterprise is found in the treatise of the Irish monk, Dicuil, *De Mensurâ Orbis Terrarum*.

Our most important help for measuring the spirit and manner of these men, who undertook the conquest of the wild Orkneys and Shetlands for the Cross, and succeeded, lies in this, they gave their names to the islands wherein they laboured and *died*, and by those names those islands are written down in our maps,—as Papa Westray, Papa Stronsay, Papdale, Papa Stour, and so of others. These tell us of the extension and rooting of the Faith, though, alas ! as in Britain, Christianity was whelmed for a time by a fierce returning flood of heathenism. Names such as St. Olaf, St. Mary, St. Magnus, belong to the era of the reconversion of the islands under the Norse occupation.

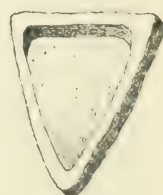
In the period of this invasion, John, an early Bishop of Scrabster, interceding for his flock, the people of Thurso, suffered martyrdom by Harold in a manner revolting as cruel. All that remains of this early cradle of our faith is just a shore-built wall on a storm-beaten crag.

Passing the picturesque Harold's Tower (now the burial-place of the Tankerness family, though once the resting-place of Harold himself, the fierce northern leader), the deep bay under the walls of Dunnett Head leads on towards the very ancient Castle, the family seat of the Earls of Caithness. This family, the Sinclairs, was centrally settled at Girnigoë, on Sinclair Bay ; the younger branch of the house at Mey, in Barrogil Castle, a building of two courts, now the residence of the Earl of Caithness. "The curse of Almighty God", on account of the sins and wrongs done in Girnigoë, is supposed to have reduced that stronghold to ruins. It was a ruinous mass in 1689.

Just beyond Barrogil is Mey, with its famous and too fatal "Men" ("Men of Mey"), a roost or whirl of waters rising in huge domes, and breaking in deluges of foam,—the cause of shipwrecks unnumbered.

I want to say something of the celebrated John o' Groats. The site is east of Thurso about twenty miles, and inaccessible by any but special conveyance, the road running parallel with the coast, developing glorious views of the islands and intervening sea.







John o' Groats is approached through a flat country, and is but a little modern inn upon the shore, and some half-dozen fishers' cottages,—added, however, the traditional green mound, the supposed site of the celebrated house, and most northerly in Scotland. Some have believed its history and occupancy alike mythical. Really it is not so. Groat or Grote is an old Scottish patronymic; yet reasonably this might have had a Flemish original. Still occupancy is traceable to the fifteenth century; and in the seventeenth, *cir.* 1647, the then John o' Groat and his chattels were vexed by certain troublesome law proceedings set forth in a long, crabbed, and as troublesome Latin law process preserved at the inn.

Moreover, on digging into this green mound were unearthed sundry hewn stones, a quern, a stone pestle, two stones of a small hand corn-mill, net-sinkers, and other objects demonstrative of the reality of the occupancy, and perhaps of this man's family, which give name to the remote spot.

A tradition also exists that in the reign of James IV three brothers from Holland obtained the monarch's protection, and settled on purchased land, holding a yearly family reunion in the house of an elder brother, built on this spot, and octagonally. The little inn is octagon also. Nothing, however, now exists of John o' Groat but these few annotated relics and his memory. But wild Duncansby shoots aloft, and the impetuous tides from the adjacent whirlpool of Stroma, and fearsome Boers, under Duncansby Head, are just as when John Grote chose his site and built his house here.

It is evening time. The far-stretching, white beach is ramparted by huge, rolled boulders, the spoil of the furies of many tempests; grey, but in this hour beautiful in their quiet, long-cast shadows; and deep, transparent browns and purples of thick seaweeds and floating tangles. Under the almost level beams of declining sunlight reflected from innumerable prisms of white and broken shells, these vast banks glisten in all the tender colours of iridescent glass. A deep tranquillity invests the scene, disturbed, although not marred, by the cry of launching fishers. Eastward, on the bright steel waters, a dense, black line marks the unrestful, dangerous

Roost ; the hills of Pomona melt in lilac haze ; the rocks of nearer Stroma blacken ; only on the far and lofty precipices of Hoy the evening glow yet lingers. Eastward, in gathering glooms, with red flames burn the twin and guardian lights of Skerrie. Night drops her velvet curtains ; and the rising moon presently purples the blackened shadows, and crests with yellow light the hasty waters of the Pentland Frith.

The approach to Kirkwall is somewhat sudden, lying as it does in a bend of the Fiord. There is great novelty in the general view, with the square tower of St. Magnus' Cathedral rising beyond and above the grey houses of the town. Kirkwall consists of one street, tortuous, narrow, historical, and more in length than a mile. Two points are striking, the extreme narrowness of the *via*, and antiquity and picturesqueness of many of the houses. This may be noted also, *its one tree*, honoured and protected, standing right in the footway of the very narrow street.

Kirkwall, "the creek or bay of the church", is a royal burgh of unknown antiquity, possessing a charter from James III, confirming, A.D. 1476, all its ancient privileges. The town is governed by a provost and four baillies. Kirkwall forms one of the Wick District of Burghs, returning one member to Parliament. Unlike Stromness, the long continuity of the broad street is broken by the space before the Cathedral, standing about midway. Of course St. Magnus is the chief object of attraction, and well repays investigation. But three cathedrals, intact, of ancient foundation, remain in Scotland. This is one, the others being St. Giles, Edinburgh, and St. Mungo, Glasgow ; all others are in ruin. A very beautiful view and grouping of the central buildings of Kirkwall is seen from Gallows Hill, with a background of the lavender-tinted and rounded heights of Pomona, and the silver streak of the dividing waters. To the right is St. Magnus' Cathedral ; to the left, the red sandstone ruins of the Bishop's Castle and the Palace of the Earls of Orkney, toned by the dark foliage of a few and rare trees.

The Cathedral dates from 1137, being then founded by Roynrald, Jarl of Orkney, and built of sandstones supplied by the Orkney Islands. Yellowish grey, yellow, lavender,



and deep red, blend in artistic combinations. The architectural styles are Norman and Early Pointed Gothic. On entering the Cathedral the eye is somewhat deceived by the narrowness and great height of the nave, and coloured gloom prevailing in the aisles, arising from the omission of western aisle-windows. The general impression is, perhaps, of Durham, but on a far lesser scale. The thirty-two pillars of the nave, rising 10 ft. apart, want the massiveness of the southern Cathedral. Yet St. Magnus has beauties of its own, and the east window its special magnificence. Four lancets are surmounted by a great rose-window of twelve rays and a central trefoil. We may revert to Hollar's view of the great eastern window of our old Paul's Cathedral, which, if of much grander dimensions, admitted the same architectural lines as Kirkwall's east window.

The plan of the Cathedral is cruciform, with nave and nave-aisles, also north and south transepts with two small chapels, choir and choir-aisles, and a central tower carrying, until 1661, a lofty wooden spire. This spire was destroyed by lightning, and never rebuilt. The Cathedral in length is 234 ft.; in breadth, 56. The transepts are 161 ft., with a breadth of 28 ft. An ancient chronicler has written thus: "It has three gates checkered with red and white polished stones embossed and flowered in a comely way"; but now weather-beaten, the yellowish sandstones suffering most. Dryden also says "these are probably the finest examples in Britain of different coloured stones in patterns." The interior carvings, however, are in better preservation. The capitals over the choir present masses of foliage and fruit, interspersed with human faces, which from originality and character may be likenesses of some of the ancient brotherhood of the Cathedral. No stained glass exists; but the fragments of old wood-carving are very rich, and beautiful in design. The three bells, presented by Bishop Maxwell, were cast, in 1528, "by Robert Borthwick, in Edinburgh, Master Gunner to James V."

The curfew is still rung at eight o'clock.

Tradition holds that the remains of many bishops and Norse jarls rest within these sacred walls, but no traces remain of either monuments or inscriptions. Hugh Miller

notes having been shown a square, narrow cell formed in the thickness of the wall, and "in the cell was found, depending from the roof, a rusty iron chain with a bit of bread attached." The cell is supposed by some to be the burial-place of St. Magnus; and I have read of human bones within, and *these* carted away with rubbish. The Vice-Admiral of that division of Spain's Armada which attempted the doubling of these stormy isles, the commander of the great ship wrecked upon Fair Isle, lies here in peace; and it may be added, many seventeenth century coffin-shaped memorial stones with doleful anticipations of the life to come, stand like vexed and despairing ghosts around the walls.

The exterior view of the Cathedral from the Calvary Cross, lately restored to its place, is very striking. Its lofty height, fine and deeply recessed west window, the carved and chequered doorways; the clustering traditions of the ages; its fit remoteness from busy scenes with their eternal agitations; and over all the glamour of sunlit colour,—combine to make St. Magnus a romance of beauty, with promised pleasurable reminiscences in the whirl even of a London life.

The Earl's Castle and Bishop's Palace are to the south of the Cathedral, and adjoining. The Earl's Palace was built in 1600 by Patrick Stuart, Earl of Orkney, called also "The Scourge of the Islands." In the banqueting hall are two fireplaces. Over one is a fine example of the level arch, 12 ft. in its span. In this hall Sir Walter Scott places the interview between Bruce and Cleveland the pirate. Here also, in 1616, the trial and condemnation of Elspeth Reoch, a young and beautiful woman, for witchcraft took place. The style of building is Scotto-Flemish with much ornamentation. The hall was 34 ft. in height, and measures 55 ft. 1 in. by 20 ft. 4 in.

The Bishop's Palace, of red sandstone, has suffered from the tooth of time and hand of the spoiler, and is most picturesque in its desolation.

A good specimen of the stone residences once possessed by the old Lairds of Orkney may be seen in that in Broad Street, belonging to the Bakies of Tankerness,—a stone front with well-barred entrance opening on a spacious enclosure, around which, built in stone, stand the

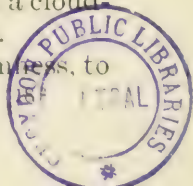
dwelling-house and its offices. Towards the top of Broad Street is a still more ancient and remarkable residence, an almost fortified house. Kirkwall differs from Stromness and Lerwick in this,—the latter towns have the narrowness, but fail in the picturesqueness of the former.

It is said “every stone of our street is historical.” This, perhaps, is hardly within the circle of truth. I give you two historical reminiscences. *Cir.* 1715 lived in the house by the one tree a Hanoverian agent and great supporter of the new dynasty, by name Moodie. Opposite the Castle Hotel (now built on the site of the Castle of Kirkwall) is a flagged way leading to a road above the Cathedral. One ill-starred morning Moodie came from the Cathedral towards his home, when the Earl and his brother and two armed servants emerged from the entry. “See you that Hanoverian dog? Shoot him!” said the Earl. The servants obeyed; the wounded man fell to the ground. “Kill him!” and again he was obeyed. But Moodie’s little grandson stood at the house-gate, and saw the murder. As a man, and after Culloden (1746), he brought the survivors of his grandfather’s murder to justice.

There died the year before last (1886), in Broad Street, and in a house inhabited by his father, a man of one hundred and three years. He was a cobbler, as was his father before him. He received this from his father, that after Culloden a young man, by name Stewart, and a scion of that well known family, came a fugitive from the battle, footsore, and almost naked, and by the old man’s father Stewart’s worn out brogues were patched and mended.

The barrenness of the Islands in trees is largely compensated by the exquisite tints of the hills and verdure of meadows; and more so as the scenery amidst which Stromness is set unfolds itself with the deep, warm red of the masses of Hoy, and the soft hills of Ronsay; to the right the grassy breast of Maes Howe and lilac heights of Pomona and distant Stronsay, the embosomed lakes of Stennis, blue as the Mediterranean, with their grey and blackened Stennis Circles; and over all a cloudless, sapphire sky and unbroken hush of solitude.

*Maes Howe.*—About three miles south of Stromness, to





the left, is the Maiden's Mound, and remarkable as the place where the first Runes of Shetland and Orkney were discovered, and they are 1,000 in all! Maes Howe is a chambered cairn or cone, 300 ft. in circumference, 92 in diameter, 36 in height, standing on a circular platform 270 ft. in diameter, surrounded by a trench 40 ft. in width. A long, low, sandstone passage of 54 ft. leads to the interior chamber, which is about 15 ft. square. The roof is formed of gradually overlapping stones, closed at last by one. These chambered cairns belong to Orkney. There is another not far from Kirkwall. There are none in Shetland. These of Orkney, as does Maes Howe, possess "loculi". Here are three, with the stones that closed the mouth of each of them. Can these small chambers have been places of sepulture? At each angle of this chamber is a slab of stone, on one of which is carved a remarkable cross (see Plate), on another a serpent around a pole, and a winged dragon. So near the cross, may these refer to the fiery, flying serpents and the serpent of brass? since it is held these carvings are the work of a crusading Norse jarl on his way to or from Jerusalem; most probably Jarl Rögnvald ("the Blessed Jarl"), the hero who in 1152 left Norway with a considerable following for the Holy Land.

Some have dismissed the Runes of Maes Howe as "mere scribblings". They appeared to the writer as something more, and more valuable,—the names of those men who accompanied Jarl Rögnvald on Crusade. This speculation having been submitted to Dr. Anderson was admitted as the correct solution.

*Stones of Stennis.*—The Bridge of Brogan, or Causeway, separates the Lakes of Stennis. To the south is the first circle, on a platform 104 ft. in diameter, and 3 ft. above the general level. The stones of the inner circle were from 15 to 17 ft. high; but two, however, remain standing. These are of red sandstone, and apparently from Sandwick parish; and possibly, as a friend suggested, were moved in winter-time. In the centre of the ring is the fragment of a cromlech; and on the Bridge of Brogan a gigantic solitary monolith, grey and massive, and standing well, with a background of the red precipices of Hoy. The stone of Odin (see Plate), perforated about 5 ft.



from the ground, stood until 1814; to the last an object, amongst the peasantry, of great veneration. They never failed, when visiting it, in leaving an offering here.

The second circle, on the Lake of Harray, though imperfect, is yet more perfect than the first, and appears to have originally consisted of sixty stones. The jutting spit of land is covered by burial-mounds, the circle standing within, on a platform of 360 ft. diameter. The distance between the stones is 17 ft. Thirteen are standing, thirteen are broken, more than twenty have disappeared, and ten are prostrate. The stones are all socketed. The Circle of Brogan was known as the Temple of the Sun; that of Stenness, the Temple of the Moon.

There was a third circle at Bookar, from which the stones have disappeared; and two remarkable and solitary stones on the larger of the hills, east (perhaps gnomons), make the sum of this interesting locality.

*Skaill and Skara*, on the extreme north-west of Orkney, the terminus of a lonely upland country studded with lakelets, the long and weary road opening on the vast Bay of Skaill, where the Atlantic waters rush and fall evermore. Skaill House, the residence of Mr. Watt, F.S.A.Scot., overlooks the Bay. It is to the intelligent observation and perseverance of this gentleman the archaeological world is so indebted for the discovery of a buried Pictish settlement and its exhumation in part. I dare not test your patience with more than a brief notice of the buried dwellings of Skara.

Some years ago the wild Atlantic swept away the drift-sand, exposing a vast kitchen-midden, from which shells, deers' antlers, and implements of bone and stone were taken. (See Plate). Many or most of these are at Skaill House. Behind the midden lay a mass of ruined building. By great labour Mr. Watt succeeded in laying bare a portion, and most interesting, of the ruin. The buildings may be generally described as a group of chambers or cells lying on either side a zigzag passage running nearly parallel to the beach. These chambers have a diameter of about 11 ft. 6 in., a length of 21 ft., with rounded ends, and walls built of beach-stone set in rude mortar. The interior walls are imperfect. Each dwelling opens into the zigzag passage, and the floor of each is marked

out into compartments by stone uprights, the hearth retaining marks of fire and burned bones. Other compartments appear to have been sleeping-berths. Shelves and "loculi" are there, intended for articles in daily use, as stone lamps, querns for pounding fish-bone, etc., found *in situ*, as though a sudden invasion had driven away the dwellers, leaving their homes and household implements behind them. These dwellings were roof-ribbed with whalebone covered with turf. They have a small lookout seaward, and the tortuous passage at its every angle afforded the possibility of defence. Just within each habitation is a recess in which a dog on guard may have been kept. (See Plate.)

Within one dwelling was found a rude, thick urn of clay. Such have been found also in the ruins of other brocks in Orkney, leading up to the idea of preservation in their dwellings of the burned ashes of their dead. Clay, as a defence against rain and wind, had been used seaward as exterior plaster.

From the implements and relics found within and without these dwellings being formed exclusively from stone or bone, a high antiquity for these remains may be inferred. The bones are of animals long since extinct in Orkney, as deer, with the bones of *Bos primigenius*. Human remains were also found: one on its face, near the fireplace; the other with animal bones, in a corner of the dwelling. The skull is of low development, with receding forehead, resembling others found in old graves in Orkney.

It is not possible, it is premature, to attempt to fix an age for these remarkable discoveries. Too many implements of design and finish testify for the inhabitants as removed from utter barbarism. The drain beneath one dwelling, and general constructive skill, perhaps also the cremation and preservation of the ashes of the dead, are collateral witnesses. Relics of a remoter era certainly were found, but overborne by a weightier evidence for a civilised advancement.

These, from amongst others, were exhumed at Skara: a celt of quartz; a "fetish", the upper part of a human body, in whalebone, with no small approach to an Esquimaux type (see Plate); a stone cup with red pigment; calcined hematite; celts of bone; a perforated stone ball

covered with projecting knobs; stone lamps; a mortar or quern; large numbers of polished beads of teeth or bone; bones partly severed, and intended for beads; a large bone vessel made of the vertebræ of the whale; stone flakes and knives; a jasper celt from Shetland; a stone box with pigment; celts of red sandstone and serpentine from Shetland; urns formed from steatite from Shetland also; a remarkable disc of steatite, polished, and inscribed with something very like a galley with elevated prow and expanded lateen sail. These are a few from amongst the many in the Museum at Skail House. The time may be when antiquarian and intelligent zeal will uncover further this buried settlement.

Right across the Bay is a dark scour. Under this was discovered, thirty years ago, the wonderful and most interesting hoard of very ancient Norse silver work, much of which is deposited in the Museum of Edinburgh Archaeology, and of which on a future evening I hope to exhibit some models. It is remarkable that in the Saga, translated by Dr. Anderson, is a brief, vague notice of treasure buried on the north-west coast.

Returning to Kirkwall, our paper concludes with a glance at a most interesting spot, the Island of Egilshay, about twelve miles north-east of Kirkwall Harbour. On this small Island are the ruins of a church, the most ancient in Orkney. The date of its erection is uncertain; but its round tower, of Celtic pattern, may suggest a Celtic origin, perchance an offspring of the Scrabster missionary settlement. Sir H. Dryden supposes the building may date from 990, and that the builders might have been Norsemen. There are but three round towers in Scotland,—Abernethy, Brechin, and Egilshay; the latter forming part of the church itself. The structure consists of a chancel and nave, in length together, 44 ft. 8 in., with a nave of the breadth of 15 ft. 6 in., and chancel, in breadth, 9 ft. 5½ ins. The tower is at present 48 ft. high; but this height does not appear normal. The gables are crow-stepped, as in the case of a most quaint and interesting church near John o' Groat's. The roof was stone-flagged, and over the chancel is a small stone chamber called "The Grief House", perhaps a prison. Having no intelligence of the founders I will add only the cele-



brated St. Magnus, Jarl and Saint, was murdered in this Island A.D. 1115.

He who visits these northern isles must defy the sea; it is of primary importance; be prepared also for certain deprivation and roughness; but the visitor is certain of welcome, and finding in so much novelty of scene and manifold interest store for after-thought when London life-tide may leave him a little space of quiet ebb.

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### ADDENDA.

*Mermaid Legend.*—The Point of Dwarwick is the scene of the legend following. A young lad of the neighbourhood found in a pool on the coast a mermaid sunning herself. He made himself so agreeable, or fell so under her fascination, that a closer intimacy ensued, and for long continued. The young man grew wealthy, but distributed his wealth to another maiden, in form of diamond jewelries of great value, the gifts of the sea-nymph. In process of time he became less attentive to his appointments, yet always demanding more and more gold and jewels. His ocean love experienced a natural exasperation in finding her gifts bestowed on earthly rivals. At length a fair evening tempted him afloat, with the sea-maid's promise that they two would sail in her skiff to a cave under Dwarwick Head, wherein were piled all the gold of all the ships ever wrecked in the Pentland Frith and on the sands of Dunnett Head. He hesitated, but at length consented, and is now confined a captive, bound with a chain of gold, in a cave on Dunnett Sand, watched over by the unsleeping eyes of the mermaid.

The last mermaid was reported to have been seen by Miss Mackay, daughter of the Rev. David Mackay of Reay, in 1823. Her experience gave rise to great and general discussion in the then learned world.

*Witchcraft.*—Superstition had a fast hold in Caithness and Orkney. The clergy failed to eradicate it, being little less superstitious than their people. Even "public fast days" for "the overflowing of wickedness" failed also. In 1719 many persons in Thurso being suspected of witchcraft and compact with the Devil, the Presbytery made formal complaint to the Sheriff, asking a commission to try them. The circumstances were these. A certain Hugh Montgomery of Scrabster lost most unaccountably the contents of his cellars, and watching, armed, saw a troop of cats invading his rooms. These he attacked, wounding some, and from one detaching a leg. In a day or two it was rumoured that a venerable dame living at Oust, near Thurso, was in bed with a broken leg. She long had been known as "uncanny", and here was proof. The Sheriff investigated the charge and its proofs, and sent the record to the Lord Advocate, who censured him, and quashed proceedings. Nevertheless, the poor old woman, being removed to prison, died from neglect therein. Two others died, and after death were found wounded.

Pennant heard this story, and dismisses it with satire. It is true enough.



*John o' Groat's*.—The family possessed lands at Duncansby. Not less than thirty-three inventories of lettings or feuings in connection with this family are preserved with the "Clerk of Supply" for Orkney. These cover years from 1496 to Malcolm Groat, "the late ferryman", 1642. It is remarkable no old traveller who visited John o' Groat's makes mention of the traditional octagonal house, but rests the fame thereof on it being the northernmost house in Scotland; neither Defoe, nor Pennant, nor William Lithgow, nor Richard Franc Re, nor the Rev. John Brand, Commissioner of the General Assembly, who rested there one night. Re speaks of the abundance of good provision, and "more north, in an angle of Caithness, lies John o' Groat, upon an isthmus of land that faceth the pleasant Isles of Orkney." The house octagonal appears to have been "a traveller's tale".

*Arms of the Earls of Caithness*.—Quarterly, 1st, *azure*, a ship at anchor, her oars erected in saltire within a double tressure counterflowered *or*; 2nd and 3rd, *or*, a lion rampant *gules*; 4th, *azure*, a ship under sail *or*; and over all a cross engrailed, dividing the four quarters saltire. Crest, on a wreath a cock proper, two griffins beaked *or*. Motto, "Commit thyself to God."

*Museums and Private Collections*.—At Thurso the disarranged botanical and geological collections of Mr. Robert Dick, late baker in Thurso.

At Stromness, a small geological collection, and one of ornithology.

At Kirkwall, the interesting African collection belonging to the worthy Provost.

The admirable lithic collection, chiefly from Shetland, the work and possession of W. Cursitor, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

The excellent collection from Skara at Skaill House, by W. Watt, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

## Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 177.)

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FRIDAY, 31ST AUGUST 1888.

THE members, under the guidance of Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, spent the forenoon in inspecting Paisley Abbey. The party arrived in Paisley shortly after ten o'clock, and were received by Rev. Mr. Dalgetty, Rev. Mr. Metcalf, Rev. Dr. Henderson, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Mackenzie, Dr. Graham, Dr. Richmond, etc. They were subsequently joined by Mr. Barbour, M.P.

Mr. Brock, after the members had assembled in the church, gave a short explanatory paper, which will be printed hereafter. The members afterwards passed through the north doorway into the ruined choir of the church.

Mr. Ewan Christian pointed to the marks of fire on the east end of the choir-walls, and called attention to an illustration of the tooling of the thirteenth century.

From the choir the party passed through the church to St. Mirren's Chapel, or "The Sounding Aisle" as it is commonly called.

The members afterwards inspected the monastic buildings, and under the guidance of Mr. Thomas Reid, of Paisley, a subterranean passage leading from the Abbey towards the Cart. The passage was large enough to permit of one walking in it with a slight stoop, and he suggested that it had extended from the Abbey kitchen to the river.

The party returned to Glasgow shortly after one o'clock.

After luncheon, by kind invitation of the Reception Committee, in the Royal Bungalow within the grounds of the Exhibition, the party proceeded to the University, where they were received by Professor Young, and shown over the Hunterian Museum. He pointed out that want of room prevented the College authorities having the various articles better arranged; but even as they were, there was abundant material for those interested in archæology to inspect and study. Professor Young's remarks will take the form of a paper.

At half-past four an adjournment was made to the Bishop's Castle.

Here the party was received by Sir James King, Lord Provost; Sheriff Berry, Sir William Collins, Bailie Shearer, Councillor Walter Wilson, Rev. Professor Story, Mr. Wyllie Guild, Mr. John Honeyman, and others.

The Lord Provost said that on the part of the Executive Council of the Exhibition, of which he was Chairman, he had to welcome the members of the Association to the Bishop's Castle. Although a paper castle it contained many treasures not unworthy of their notice, gathered from public and private collections, wherever access could be obtained to articles illustrative of the various periods of Scottish history. He was sure, while the accommodation within the building could scarcely admit of all entering at once, that there would be enough there to make the completion of this day not the least agreeable nor the least instructive among the many which they had spent in Scotland.

The members spent a long time in the building, and carefully examined the numerous articles laid out in the various cases. The collection comprises a large number of objects of interest connected with the life of Mary Queen of Scots, also memorials of Prince Charlie and other pretenders to the throne. Here also is exhibited the Solemn League and Covenant, the parchment bearing the original signatures of the promoters of the same. The collection as a whole is, no doubt, priceless, and has never been excelled.

A meeting of the members of the Association was held in the Corporation Galleries in the evening.

The Marquess of Bute, the President, occupied the chair, and before the ordinary business of the meeting began made a few observations on some of the peculiar arrangements of the interior of Glasgow Cathedral as illustrated by certain foreign examples. In the address which he had delivered the other evening he said that he had noticed, in connection with Stirling, the fact that it was possible the royal throne, at least at the coronation, might have stood upon the top of the rood-loft. The position which it used to occupy in St. Giles, Edinburgh, before the recent restoration, favoured that idea. The fact of the seat of the Corporation of Glasgow being on the top of the rood-loft pointed in the same direction. Of course tops of rood-lofts were put to all sorts of uses,—turned into organ-galleries, and so on. Sometimes this position was used, however, as the seat of the chief person. One instance of this, with which he was familiar in England, was the parish church at Sandown, the seat of Lord Harrowby. He had already mentioned the positions of the royal thrones in the Cathedrals at Frankfort and Rheims. The second topic on which he wished to touch was a more important one,—the position occupied in Glasgow Cathedral by the grave of St. Kentigern. It would be generally found that

in western countries the body of the patron saint had been taken out of the grave, and put into a large structure somewhere behind the high altar. The arrangement in Glasgow, so far as he knew, was unique upon this side of Italy. In Italy it was the universal custom to bury the saint beneath the altar. During a recent period he had lived in the south of Italy where there were churches which recalled the peculiar arrangement of Glasgow. He gathered from them, as well as from other things, that the position of the grave of Kentigern fixed beyond doubt the position of the high altar in the choir above, for it must have stood precisely above. During the time the Association had been there a certain amount had been said and written in the newspapers about the fittings of Glasgow Cathedral. In considering the best method of arranging Glasgow Cathedral they had to pay attention to what was the most convenient arrangement for the Presbyterian service, and subject to that, to follow as far as possible what was done in buildings erected in the same way as Glasgow Cathedral. With the exception of the Communion, which was celebrated comparatively rarely in the Cathedral (only four times a year), public worship was always connected with the pulpit. Hence the thing to consider would be merely the most convenient and desirable position for the pulpit to be put in. In all cathedrals elsewhere, where there was very much preaching, the pulpit was upon all occasions placed, not in the chancel, but in the nave. Every one knew the instance of the sermons which were the most popular of any in England, namely those delivered in Westminster Abbey. When these were delivered, the pulpit was placed in the nave. This was the case with all the English cathedrals. The French people were exceedingly fond of preaching; and the whole world knew of the courses of services in the Church of Nôtre Dame de Paris, which were of so much interest to the whole literary universe, when men like La Cordère preached, the pulpit was always placed in the nave. Then take Belgium. There the pulpit, which was a distinct feature of ecclesiastical art, was also placed in the nave. All the pulpits were objects of splendour. There was an instance, which he remembered exceedingly well, of a pulpit in the nave of St. Gudule, at Brussels, which was a perfect marvel of wood-carving. It was one of the sights of the city. He would, therefore, strongly urge, if it were his business to urge anything, that it seemed to him that the thing to do was, as in the examples to which he had alluded, to place the pulpit at the side of the nave. It was the most convenient position for hearing. Whether the chancel was used for Communion or not was more purely a religious matter, on which he was not called to speak. Incidentally his Lordship remarked that he did not know of any ancient stone pulpit. There was what some people might take to be a stone pulpit at Sorrento; but it was not a pulpit,



properly speaking. It was an ambo. There might be instances in South Italy of splendid stone ambones from which people preached.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, agreed with what the Marquess had stated with regard to the proper position of the pulpit. The principal things which would indicate the desirability of re-arranging such a building as Glasgow Cathedral were the dictates of common-sense. Every one who had any experience of acoustics knew that if the preacher attempted to speak straight before him his voice was very frequently lost. On the other hand, if the clergyman spoke diagonally he was heard with much greater effect; therefore common-sense dictated that the pulpit should be placed at one side of the building, either north or south.

Mr. John Honeyman expressed the obligations which the members felt to the Chairman for his observations. With regard to the shrine of the patron Saint, he had formed the view that the present position of the shrine was at the east end of what was the former chancel, that the chancel built by Jocelyn extended a little way eastward from the position of the present shrine, and that the builders of the present Cathedral did not disturb that arrangement, although they had moved the high altar. There was one circumstance which seemed to indicate that this had been the case, namely, there was a solid building under the present pulpit, showing that there was no doubt that that was the position of the high altar. While the identical arrangements which the Marquess had described might have existed in the church as originally built, it was only slightly varied at the present time.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, then read a paper entitled "Notes on Scottish History", which will be printed hereafter.

Professor Hayter Lewis, F.S.A., submitted a paper on the subject of "Masons' Marks." This has been printed in the *Journal*, at pp. 145-154.

Dr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A., then read a paper on "Further Discoveries of Mounds in the Form of Animals", which has been printed in the *Journal*, at pp. 155-171.

#### SATURDAY, 1ST SEPTEMBER 1888.

The members to-day visited the Roman camp at Ardoch, Doune Castle, and Dunblane Cathedral. The excursion was one of the most extended of the series, and unfortunately it had to be made with the discomfort of rain. Among the party were Professor Herbert Story and Professor Young.

Taking train from Buchanan Street to Greenloaning, the members drove through the grounds of Colonel Drummond Moray to Ardoch,

and about an hour was spent in an examination of the grass-grown lines of the ancient fortifications. The camp is about two miles and a half to the north of Greenloaning Station, and is within the grounds of Ardoch House. It is about the largest that has yet been discovered, and is one of the best preserved remains of the Roman occupancy of Britain. It is supposed to have been the site of an early native camp, afterwards occupied by the Romans, and adapted by them to the requirements of their soldiery. The works consist of four portions.

Professor Young undertook the guidance of the party, and in the course of some remarks referred to the existence of many so-called Roman works throughout this quarter of Scotland, which upon examination proved to be nothing but natural formations of sand and gravel. These misleading natural stratifications of sand and gravel extended from the mouth of the Tay up to Ben Ledi, and away down through the narrow glen at Bridge of Allan into the Carse. It was said that 25,000 men were accommodated in this camp; but looking to the limited area of the ground which it enclosed, he was inclined to disbelieve the statement.

In the course of the walk round the ramparts a number of the members expressed a strong desire that at least a part of the camp should be excavated. A tradition regarding an underground passage, which was blocked up about the end of last century, was discussed, and it was suggested that in all probability the passage was a well, although the necessity for a well, with the river so close at hand, could not be very clearly seen.

Carriages were resumed, and progress made, by way of Dunblane, to Deanston House, the residence of Mr. John Muir, who most generously entertained the party. Luncheon was served in a large marquee erected on the lawn in front of the house, and was partaken of to the strains of music from a band stationed outside the tent.

Thanks having been proposed by Mr. Thomas Blashill, and heartily rendered, Mr. Muir expressed the very great pleasure the visit of the Association had given him, and his regret for the cause of Mr. Bulloch's absence.

After a walk through the grounds and garden, the party returned to their carriages, and drove over to Doune Castle, a little further down the Valley of the Teith. In the courtyard of the Castle Mr. Dalrymple Duncan read a paper upon the history of the structure, which will be printed hereafter.

It was late in the afternoon when Dunblane was reached. In their examination of the Cathedral the attention of the party was particularly directed to the beautiful double windows in the west gable and the vesica-window above. In the chancel, now used as the parish church, the Rev. A. Ritchie gave a short sketch of the history of the building.

The Rev. Mr. Ritchie said that there was good authority for believing that at a very early date a Culdee convent occupied the site of the Cathedral. The discovery of a fine Celtic cross of about the seventh century, under the floor of the church, was good proof of this fact. That event was associated with the name of St. Blane; but the only fact that could be verified about him in connection with Dunblane was that he was buried there. He appeared to have come from Ulster, and had been brought up by an uncle, St. Cathan, who had a little cell about Kilchattan Bay. It was supposed that the Culdee convent was erected into a bishopric by David I about the middle of the twelfth century; but from that time till about a century later very little was known about the building. At the date about 1240 the Cathedral appeared to have fallen into an altogether dilapidated and ruinous state, and the revenues of the see had become utterly exhausted. About that time Bishop Clement was appointed Bishop, and it was to him that they owed the church, or at least the western portion of it. He found the place in ruins, and he left it a stately sanctuary. The first three storeys of the tower are all that remain of the earlier structure. So far as they knew, from that time forward there were comparatively few Bishops men of great note. Of the more notable were Nicholas de Balmyle, in the fourteenth century, who was also Chancellor of Scotland. In the fifteenth century there were Findlay Dermot, the builder of the first bridge over the Allan; William Stephen, one of the earliest Professors of Divinity at St. Andrew's; Michael Ochiltree, who crowned James II at Holyrood, and built the church at Muthill. Passing on, they came to James Chisholm, who did a great deal for the church. He was chaplain to James III, and made a very narrow escape at Lauder Bridge; but for the intercession of the King he would have suffered the fate which befell the other favourites there. He did much in the way of finishing parts of the building, having put an extra storey on the tower, erected the parapets of the choir, and completed much of the carved woodwork. He was succeeded by a half-brother, William Chisholm, who proved the reverse of a benefactor to the church, for he alienated the estates, and wasted the revenues of the see. This Bishop was followed by a nephew of the same name, who continued the work of spoliation begun by his predecessor. Ultimately he vacated his charge, and crossed to France, where he became Bishop of Vaison. He was believed to have taken away with him some important documents relating to the history of the see. It was he who brought to Scotland the dispensation that enabled Mary to marry Darnley, and it was he who took a conciliatory letter to France when she married Bothwell. About the year 1489, when Glasgow was erected into an archbishopric, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Galloway, were included within it, and the bishops became suffragan bishops under

Glasgow. With regard to the bishops under the first Protestant episcopacy, there were none, so far as he was aware, of great note. Two were named Graham, and one Bellenden. In the year 1588 the Cathedral had again fallen into a miserable and dilapidated state. It was well, however, to know that the Church at that time had some care for its historic edifices, for in the Records of the Assembly of that year an Act was found stating that an article should be given into the King regretting the ruinous state of certain churches, among them the Church of Dunblane, and asking that means should at once be taken for their repair. The name of Leighton, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, was the name associated most widely and most rightly with the second Protestant Episcopacy of the Church. How far the state into which the Church had been allowed to fall was due to neglect and want of money, on account of the poverty of the place, and how far it had been brought about by actual violence at the time of the Reformation, was a matter on which he would like more information. He had no doubt the images and other Popish furnishings and embellishments were pulled down and destroyed, but he questioned whether it had been shown that any great violence was done to the structure by the Reformers. It is known that Edward I ordered the lead of the roof to be removed for use in the siege of Stirling Castle in 1303. Probably poverty had prevented the proper repair of the roof, which had been allowed to decay. The tracery of the east and south windows of the choir had been entirely renewed, with very bad effect and execrable taste, about the year 1820; and in 1860 the roof of the eastern part, which had never been uncovered, was erroneously thought to be in a bad state, and was sacrificed for the present very paltry and poor erection. In reflooring the church three blue slabs were left undisturbed in the middle passage, as it was believed that the unfortunate Margaret Drummond, the mistress of James IV, or secretly married to him, and her two sisters, who were poisoned at Drummond Castle, were buried underneath them. Mr. Ritchie concluded by saying that he would leave the account of the architectural features of the Cathedral to the able hands of Dr. Rowland Anderson.

At the close, Professor Story, Dr. Anderson, and Mr. W. G. Black, F.S.A.Scot., *Hon. Local Secretary*, made a few remarks.

After tea the party returned to Glasgow, reaching the city shortly after nine o'clock. On Sunday, 2nd Sept., the members attended Divine Service in the Cathedral, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. D. G. S. Burns, Minister.



MONDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER 1888.

The members devoted the whole of the day to an excursion to the neighbourhood of Falkirk and Linlithgow. Compared with the numbers who turned out to some of the earlier excursions, there was a falling off. About fifty members, accompanied by lady friends, left Queen Street Station at ten o'clock for Bonnybridge. They were received by the Rev. Dr. Russell, Minister of the first charge of the parish of Campbeltown, and proprietor of the estate of Bonnyside; Mr. James Wilson of Bantaskine, and Mr. J. Riddock M'Luckie, by whom they were conducted to the Elf Hill, not far from the Railway Station.

The Rev. Dr. Russell said that the Marquess of Bute, in his address the other evening, scientifically classifying Scottish history, divided it into three periods,—the early, the mediæval, and the modern; the first or early period ending with the death of Macbeth, August 15, 1057; the second, or mediæval, with the defeat of Mary at Langside on May 13, 1568; and the third, or modern, extending from the battle of Langside to the present. The scene now before the visitors brought the earliest of the early period under notice, and embraced evidences of the energy and precaution of a people who claimed to be lords of the world. By the rapid changes which had taken place in recent years the Wall had suffered severely, and was but a wreck of its former self. Happily, however, for the archæologist a portion of the wreck, which afforded a correct idea of the original, still remained. The words of Gordon, who wrote in 1726, were still true. He said: "If any curious person has a mind to see this Wall in its highest perfection, he needs go no farther than three miles to the west of the town of Falkirk." To the south lay the province of *Valentia*, extending to Hadrian's Wall, and immediately to the north the provinces of *Vespasiana* and *Caledonia*. The slight artificial eminence where the members stood was called "Elf Hill", probably a corruption of "Eilfahel". Various opinions had been hazarded as to its character. Stewart and others regarded it as a watch-tower, the fourth from Castlecary. Walddie, in his book published in 1883, gave it as his opinion that it was reared over the fallen brave after some great battle. The reading of his book had suggested the propriety of erecting a fence round the hill to preserve it from the inroads of cattle and sheep. Others, again, among whom was Mr. George Dougall, maintained that it was a fort of first importance, and with Rougheastle, three furlongs to the east, and an outpost at Broomhill, to the north-west, was designed to command the eastern centre of the natural route from the north to the south. It was probable, looking at the configuration of the district,

that it was at points within sight of them that the chief attacks by the Picts were delivered.

Leaving the Elf Hill, the visitors took their way along the Roman Wall formed in A.D. 140 by Lollius Urbicus, and running through Ach-nabùth (tent-field). Dr. Russell remarked that he felt confident that a search would bring to light in the Elf Hill and the Wall, as well as in Roughcastle, many rare archæological objects.

At Roughcastle the Rev. Dr. Russell said that it must have been one of the most important forts on the line, considering its strategical position. Gordon alluded to it as a fort which for entireness and magnificence exceeded any to be seen on the whole track, from sea to sea. It needed the eye of an accomplished archæologist to discern these qualities now. So far as known, no Roman relic had been found on Elf Hill or on the Wall to Roughcastle, although an altar-stone was discovered in a field to the south of the Castle in 1843. It was of freestone, and bore a Latin inscription stating that it was dedicated to Victory by the Sixth Cohort of the Nervian Auxiliaries. A quern or millstone was also found there, made of stone not known in the district.

The visitors followed the line of the Roman Wall into the grounds surrounding Bantaskine mansion-house, where they were hospitably entertained to cake and wine by the genial proprietor. Under his guidance they also inspected the beautifully grown *coniferæ* on the adjoining property of Mayfield.

Subsequently the party entered carriages, and drove to Falkirk, where they were received by the Provost and magistrates. An inspection was made of the old parish church, which is believed to have been founded in 1057 by King Malcolm III. The visitors viewed with much interest the historical monuments to be seen in the churchyard. Among them were the handsome cross erected by the Marquess of Bute to the memory of the "Brandanes", or men of Bute, who fell at the first battle of Falkirk; and the plain block of stone which marks the grave of Sir John Stewart, who was slain on the same occasion, along with Sir John de Græme, "the right hand of Wallace", whose remains are now covered by more than one stone, surmounted by a casting in bronze of the two-handed sword supposed to have been wielded by Sir John. There were also the tombs of Sir Robert Munro and his brother, Dr. Duncan Munro, of Obsdale; and of William Edmonstoune of Cambus-Wallace, who were slain at the second battle of Falkirk, January 17, 1746.

The visitors were entertained to luncheon by the Corporation in the Town House, under the presidency of Provost Hodge. The customary complimentary toasts were honoured, and before the company dispersed Mr. M'Luckie exhibited a curious, sculptured stone which had

been found near the Roman Wall. He also showed a bronze spear-head and a bronze brooch found at Goshen Sandholes, near the Carron Ironworks. The spear-head was discovered 6 ft. below the surface, near human remains. It was ornamented up the edges with brass studs sunk in flush with the surface of the surrounding metal. The bronze brooch was embedded 4½ ft. below the surface of the ground, not far from the spear-head. Both relics, it was stated, were believed to belong to the period of the first battle of Falkirk.

After luncheon the members of the Association continued their drive. Through the kindness of Mr. Forbes they were allowed to pass through the well-wooded grounds and past the front of the mansion-house of Callender.

Leaving the policies by the eastmost gate, the party got into the highway, and drove to Linlithgow. Here they went through the Royal Palace, the birthplace of James V and of Mary Queen of Scots; and the Church of S. Michael, a Gothic building mainly of the fifteenth century. Owing to the protracted nature of the proceedings earlier in the day, the visitors had not much time to spare at Linlithgow, and no papers were read.

The members met in the evening in the Corporation Galleries, Mr. Thomas Blashill in the chair. Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, read a paper entitled "Notes on a Diary Kept by one of the Suite of the Duke of York, afterwards James II, under date 1679 to 1681, on the Journey from London to Scotland," which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., contributed a paper on "The Classification and Geographical Distribution of Early Christian Monuments in Scotland," which in his absence was read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.* This paper will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, submitted a paper on "The Peculiarities of Ancient Scottish Architecture." This paper will also find a future place in the *Journal*.

Dr. Rowland Anderson said he was proud to find that Mr. Brock combated the belief that the Scottish people were almost entirely indebted to France for their architecture. He admitted at once that there were many distinctive features to be found here that were not found in England. On the other hand, he did not think that the features here were so different from what were found in England as they found between various districts in England. But after the War of Independence, when communication with the South was practically cut off, the Scotch developed a style of architecture which was very strongly marked, and was only to be found here.

Mr. Ewan Christian, Professor Hayter Lewis, F.S.A., and Mr.



W. G. Black, F.S.A.Scot., continued the discussion, and a vote of thanks was afterwards accorded to the gentlemen who had contributed papers.

TUESDAY, 4TH SEPT. 1888.

This was the closing day of the Congress. The place selected for the excursion was the abbey town of Dunfermline. The Provost and Magistrates of the burgh, following the example of the Corporations of other towns which the Association has visited, welcomed the members. In the Council Chamber the Magistrates and members of Council were assembled, along with members of the School Board and several of the leading gentlemen of the town and district. Among them were Sir Arthur Halket of Pitfirrane, Mr. J. A. Hunt of Logie and Pittencrieff, Sheriff Gillespie, Rev. Mr. Stevenson, Rev. Mr. Alexander, and Rev. Mr. David Imrie.

Provost Donald said that the people of Dunfermline were very proud of the visit of the British Archæological Association, and were glad to know that they had something worthy of their attention in the city. It was one of the oldest royal burghs in Scotland. As early as the eleventh century it contained a royal residence. Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret were married in 1070; and then, as now, the people had royalty that was truly worthy of their admiration. Queen Margaret, like our beloved Queen of to-day, was a noble example to the nation. Not only had they then temporal royalty, but they had the triumphant monarchy of a King of Kings, who ruled in the hearts of the King and Queen of those days. The first burgh charter was granted by King Robert the Bruce; and the oldest confirmation-charter was granted by King James VI in the year 1588, so that this was the tercentenary of its date.

Mr. George Robertson, F.S.A.Scot., and Custodian of Crown property in Dunfermline, then read a paper on the history of Dunfermline Abbey and Palace. This will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

The various works of art which adorn the Council Chamber were pointed out. Among them are portraits of George Chalmers of Pittencrieff, and Provost Low of Fordel; of James, eighth Earl of Elgin, successively Governor-General of Jamaica, Canada, and India, and Plenipotentiary to China; and of Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell. There were exhibited the Bible, chair, and looking-glass used by the Rev. Ralph Erskine, father of the Secession; the Dunfermline copy of the Solemn League and Covenant, and a number of old engravings of views of the town.

Councillor William Clark showed a small white marble pilaster, believed to have formed a portion of the monument which at one time stood over the grave of King Robert the Bruce. Mr. Clark found the



relic beneath the pavement of the Abbey when making excavations to fit up heating apparatus. He also showed a beautiful, illuminated Missal which belonged to the monks of Dunfermline.

The members then proceeded to the Abbey, and examined its architectural features and the interesting monuments which it contains.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, said that the architecture of the nave was so similar to that of Durham Cathedral that it well justified the remark of many of the members that it is "a little Durham". It was stated that when the church was rebuilt, workmen were brought from Durham to help. In that way there was a curious connection between architecture across the Border and architecture in Scotland, showing that the Scotch did occasionally derive some architectural styles from England as well as work out their own style. While the design was partially inspired by Durham, the workmen, when they came there, made the design with many Scottish elements. It was curious that the height of Scottish churches, in proportion to their width, was greater than in England. Outside the church were some remarkable buttresses. They were of a later date than the Reformation, showing that there was an evident intention to preserve, at any rate, that portion of the building for use. With regard to the remarks which had been made about the demolition of the choir, that all that was destroyed was removed by the Reformers, the order which was given them indicated how far they were to go, and it could hardly be thought that they would go further than they had permission to do. They were to purge the church of what they considered objects of idolatry, but nothing was said with regard to the pulling down of the structure itself; and since it was found that in the seventeenth century an effort was made, at great expense, by the erection of buttresses, to preserve what was left of the church, it seemed hardly in accord with any intention to make a clean sweep of every portion. Probably, since the nave was found to be large enough for public worship, the east end of the church was left to the fate of many another building,—for the wind and the other elements, added to neglect, to cause its fall. Drawings exhibited showed that there was a considerable number of arches of the old choir in a state of ruin, all of which had disappeared in order to make way for the present parish church. They ought not to leave the place without referring, with feelings of regret, to the fact that one of the greatest men of Scotland, King Robert Bruce, should lie beneath the spot on which he stood without any visible monument save the pulpit of the church which covers the spot. He trusted that some effort would be made to place the pulpit in another position, and to put some other memorial there. The Bruce was worthy of it. The heart of every Scotchman warmed with enthusiasm at the mention of his name; and was it right that such a nation as Scotland

should permit the body of the Bruce to remain there apparently unrecorded?

It was mentioned that a movement had been made in the direction of erecting a suitable monument, and a sketch was shown of a proposed memorial brass.

The Monastery was next visited, and the party then went through the Royal Palace. Subsequently they were entertained by Provost Donald to luncheon in the City Arms Hotel. The customary loyal and complimentary toasts were proposed.

After luncheon the work of inspection was resumed, parties going off to visit the remains of the Tower of Malcolm Canmore, a representation of which appears on the armorial bearings of the burgh; and Queen Margaret's Cave, a rock-hewn oratory, to which the sainted monarch is said to have been in the habit of retiring for meditation and prayer.

The party then returned to Glasgow.

The members met in the Corporation Galleries later in the afternoon, the Marquess of Bute, President, in the chair. Professor Ferguson gave the outline of a paper on the literature of witchcraft in Scotland, which will be printed hereafter. Professor Ferguson also indicated the bearing of a paper upon *Kirani Kiranides*, a seventeenth century book of medical and magical receipts, supposed to have been the work of a Persian king, which it is hoped will also find a place in the *Journal*.

Mr. W. G. Black, F.S.A.Scot., *Hon. Local Secretary*, read a paper upon "The Derivation of the Name Glasgow." This also to be printed hereafter.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper upon "The Materials for the Scoti-Monasticon," which will be printed in a future Part of the *Journal*. Mr. Birch also exhibited some photographs of Scottish charters forming part of a collection which he is now preparing for publication.

On the motion of the President (the Marquess of Bute) votes of thanks were subsequently passed to the Lord Provost and Magistrates, the Principal and Professors of the University, Sheriff Berry, and the other members of the Local Reception Committee, the Executive Council of the Glasgow International Exhibition, the President, Council, and members of the Glasgow Archæological Society, the Provost and Magistrates of Falkirk, the Provost and Magistrates of Dunfermline, the Officer commanding at Stirling Castle, the Provost and Magistrates of Stirling, Mr. Matthew Bulloch, Mr. John Muir, and Mr. Wilson.

On the motion of Mr. E. P. L. Brock, seconded by Mr. Morgan, a vote of thanks was passed to the Marquess of Bute (the President), the Local Secretaries, and Treasurer.

Further votes of thanks were conveyed to Mr. Dalrymple Duncan and Mr. W. G. Black for their services during the visit.

The Marquess of Bute, in acknowledging the vote, said he had to repeat his thanks to the members for having conferred upon him the honour of being the President of the Glasgow Congress, and also his thanks to them for the kindness and forbearance with which they had treated him. He ventured again to express the hope that the impression made upon the members by this first expedition into Scotland might be such as to encourage them to repeat it. He assured them there were many districts full of monuments which would excite their deepest interest. With the renewal of his thanks and of his best wishes his Lordship resigned his office.

In the evening the members of the British Archæological Association and of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, by invitation of the Corporation, attended a reception and *conversazione* in the Corporation Galleries. The guests were received by Lord Provost Sir James King, Lady King, and the Magistrates, in the west room of the lower halls. During the reception Messrs. Adams' band played in an adjoining room, and the Balmoral choir, conducted by Mr. H. A. Lambeth, city organist, sang in the music-room upstairs. About 800 invitations had been issued. The Marquess of Bute (the President) and Lady Bute were present during the greater part of the evening.

This concluded the proceedings of the Glasgow Congress.

## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Staindrop Church and Monuments.* By Rev. H. C. LIPSCOMBE, M.A. (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.)—Visitors to the Darlington Congress in 1886 will remember visiting Staindrop Church, when the Vicar, Mr. Lipscombe, gave its history,<sup>1</sup> and showed his book on the subject, published in 1852. This book he has rewritten, with additional information, and illustrating it with nine large photographs very well done; and plans, reprinted from the former book, also show the church at various stages in its history.

Notices of the church and monuments have appeared in this *Journal*, viz., in a paper on Staindrop Church, by Rev. H. C. Lipscombe (vol. xliii, p. 138), and in a paper on "The Works of the Nevilles round Darlington", by Mr. J. P. Pritchett (vol. xlii, p. 217). We may, however, remind our readers that this is essentially a Neville church, being just outside the grounds of Raby Castle, which for nearly five hundred years was one of their chief residences; and the church was enlarged and beautified as the Neville family increased in wealth and influence.

Evidences exist to prove the erection of a pre-Norman church, such as remains of crosses, etc.; but with respect to the earliest part of the present building,—portions of two windows in the nave,—the usual controversy, Norman or Pre-Norman (erroneously, as regards the Church of England, called Saxon), might with propriety rage fiercely. We then come to more solid data, nave-arcade, 1170-90; then to alterations of external walls, amounting to reconstruction, about 1250; enlargement of aisles about 1343; remodelling and fitting up chancel as a collegiate church, 1406-12, when Joan Beaufort (daughter of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinford, and second wife of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland) founded a college here for eight priests, four clerks, six esquires, six gentlemen, and six other poor persons. We then come to the usual dismantling and destruction, first about 1536, in the suppression of the College; again when the revenues were seized, 1548; and again when the sixth and last Earl of Westmoreland was attainted, and became an exile, in 1570.

The ancient font deserves notice. It still bears the arms of Lord Bergavenny (sixth son of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland, and his second wife, Joan Beaufort) and of his wife, Elizabeth Beauchamp, through whom he obtained the barony of Bergavenny, which still remains in the Neville family, the present holder, the Marquess of

<sup>1</sup> See vol. xliii, pp. 92, 138.



Abergavenny, being the premier Baron of the United Kingdom. It is octagon in form, and made of Teesdale marble; and judging from the above named coat of arms, probably dates about 1435-50.

Mr. Lipscombe devotes a great part of his book to the monuments of the great Neville family, which are no doubt the most interesting features of the church. First in date comes a female effigy, supposed to be Isabella, the heiress of the Nevilles, who married Robert Fitz-Maldred, the descendant of the famous Uchtred, the last independent Earl of ancient Northumbria; and who, taking the name of Neville, engrafted the Norman name on to the pure "Eengle", or real English stock. This monument is in a simple niche in the south wall, and dates about 1250.

Then comes one supposed to be Euphemia de Clavering, wife of Lord Ralph Neville, who died 1331, and mother of the more famous Ralph Neville, the hero of the battle of Neville's Cross. This is in a beautiful canopy, and dates about 1343.

Then comes one of about 1375, supposed to be Maud, daughter of Lord Percy, by his wife, Lady Mary Plantagenet, great-granddaughter of Henry III. This lady married Lord John Neville, one of the greatest soldiers of his age, and the builder of Raby Castle.

The chief glory of Staindrop Church is, however, the splendid alabaster altar-tomb erected about 1400-20 by the first and greatest Earl of Westmoreland in memory of himself and his two wives, Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Stafford, and Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swinford. This second wife, Joan, was buried in the choir of Lincoln Cathedral; and at the recent Lincoln Congress a paper on the subject was read by Mr. J. P. Pritchett, and as we hope to print it we need not now say any more about it here. The tomb at Lincoln has lost the inscription, but is otherwise in good repair. This tomb at Staindrop must have been one of the most beautiful in the kingdom. It is illustrated in Blore's *Monumental Remains*, and Mr. Lipscombe gives a beautiful photograph of it as it now exists.

After an interval of three generations (which include the troublous times of the Wars of the Roses and the tyrannical times of Henry VII and Henry VIII) we come to an oak monument erected in 1560, with effigies of the fifth Earl and two of his wives; the third wife being left out, as, being deceased wife's sister, she and her lord got into great disgrace with the Maiden Queen Elizabeth. And so ends the series of Neville monuments, for the sixth and last Earl was attainted for being a leading spirit in the rising of the North, and died in exile and poverty.

The book contains a great deal of information on minor and more modern matters, and then gives at length, both in Latin and English, an important charter of indentures between King Edward III and his

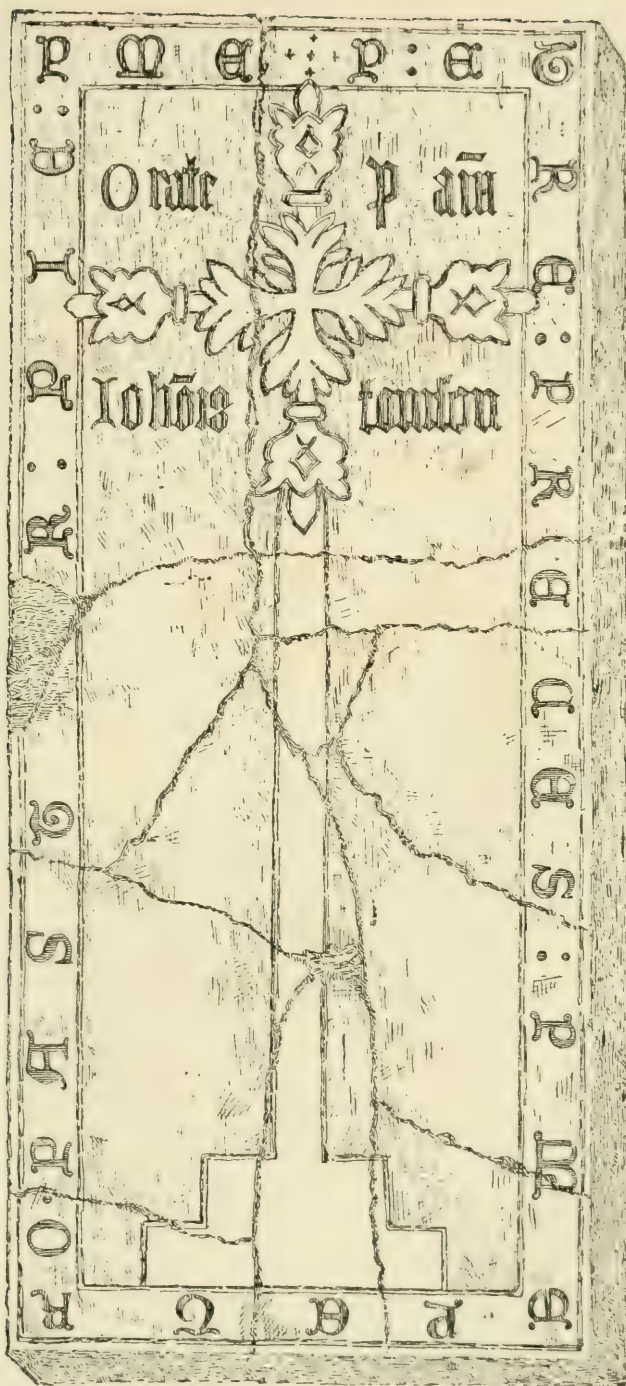
son John of Gaunt (therein called "King of Castile and Count of Richmond") respecting the exchange of numerous castles, manors, lands, and advowsons, between them; among which the advowsons of the churches of Staindrop and Brancepeth are made over to John of Gaunt, by which means it came, no doubt, to the Earl of Westmoreland on his marriage with Joan, John of Gaunt's daughter.

The book concludes with a complete pedigree of the Vanes, who, after the estate of Raby and Staindrop had belonged to the Crown for some fifty years after the attainder, came into possession of it through purchase by Sir Henry Vane from the Crown in 1626, and still retain it in the person of Henry, fourth Duke of Cleveland.

Altogether this little book, which we commend to our readers, gives not only a complete history and description of the church, but from its constant references to the great Neville family forms a link in our country's history.

*Discovery at Crowland Abbey.*—Much uncertainty has hitherto surrounded the history of Crowland Abbey, regarding the dates of the erection of its various parts; but the extensive excavations made recently, for the purpose of underpinning the foundations, have brought to light many interesting particulars that will aid in forming a reasonable theory for a more consecutively complete record than has hitherto been available. For instance, whenever an opening has been made, at the bottom there was the original foundation—piles driven through the peat into the gravel; and on these were rough, small stones in layers, with "heavy earth". This "heavy earth" is the rubbish from the quarries from which the stones were obtained. The peat that remains amongst the piles is compressed into a hard, compact earth as solid as the surrounding materials. To all appearance a portion of the peat was thrown out of the trenches for the foundations, then the piles were driven in, and the other material thrown on until it was brought nearly to a level with the surface of the site, and on this the building was begun.

So far as the present excavations go, no matter whether the superstructure be Norman or Perpendicular, no interference had been made with this early work. So far as relates to the nave, it is fair to suppose that the original plan of Ethelbald's Abbey has not been altered. Everywhere there seems to have been the most reverent care exercised in preserving, in any alteration that has been made, all that it was possible of former buildings. Several portions of Norman or Saxon work have been found encased by the latter buildings; and the pillars of the Gothic nave have beneath them as foundations, most probably, the entire materials of the former columns, including both base and capital. Several of these foundations in the south arcade of the ruined



SLAB AT CROWLAND.





nave have been examined, and they are all of similar construction, and one of them has been left open, and admirably protected by the Rector.

It is seldom such a confirmation of history is to be found as that which is revealed in a massive stone tablet taken recently from the foundation of the south-west buttress of the tower. In order to show its historic importance it is necessary to refer to the work done at the Monastery between the years 1405 and 1423. Some time about the former date Abbot Thomas Overton appointed William of Crowland his master-mason; and on p. 360 of Bohn's edition of *Ingulph's Chronicle* there is an account of extensive works carried out by him, amongst which are included the two transverse aisles of the church with their vaulted roofs, as well as a chapel in honour of the Virgin on the north confines of the choir. He also erected the whole of the lower part of the nave of the church, from the foundations to the laying of the roof, as well as both aisles, together with their chapels.

On p. 393 of the same work the above statements are confirmed, and several particulars added which give interest to the tablet before referred to. The writer of the history states that he "thought it both becoming and opportune to hand down to memory the names of some of those who had given temporal benefits, so that posterity might devoutly repay them by praying for the repose of their souls." Thirteen names are recorded, the last but one being a John Tomson. The west front of the nave had been rebuilt by Abbots Henry Longchamp and Ralph Merske between the years 1190 and 1254; and when, in the early part of the fifteenth century, William of Crowland, under the direction of Abbot Thomas Overton, began the rebuilding of the nave, he undoubtedly, first of all built the two massive buttresses to the west of the front to give it support, the wide-spread footings of which show that they were intended to withstand an extraordinary thrust; and it was in this wide foundation, at a point considerably below the present surface of the soil (but, when placed there, most likely level with it), that the tablet was found. Apparently it formed part of the foundations of the south wing of the porch that was erected a considerable time afterwards; but it was the extraordinary spread of the foot of the buttress that gave it that appearance, and it was the unequal pressure caused by the weight of the more recent structure that produced its fracture.

The accompanying Plate will give a correct idea of the stone. It is 7 ft. 6 in. long, 3 ft. 7 in. wide, and 8 in. thick, and is a fine specimen of Barnak rag. The surface is clean and clear, not in the least worn either by time or weather. The inscription is as sharp in detail as it was when it left the hands of the mason. What gives it further interest is the fact that the name inscribed upon it is the same

as the donor before mentioned, viz., John Tomson,<sup>1</sup> and the sentiment embodied in the top line, "Orate p' aia" (*Orate pro anima*) lends support to the theory that it is directly connected with the event before referred to, and is a memorial of the works carried out by William.

To add to the evidence on this point, a stone of a similar description is now visible beneath the only remaining portion of the north transverse aisle, which was built by the same person. It is of the same width and thickness, with a marked off margin containing letters exactly like the former.

It is impossible to ascertain whether any similar tablet was found in a corresponding position in the south buttress, as the lower part of it was taken down and entirely rebuilt by G. G. Scott, Esq., in 1860, when the west front was restored, and the portion remaining of the south transverse aisle has been altered too much for anything but a mere fragment to remain beneath it. Possibly the examination of the foundations of the north-west buttress of the tower may throw more light on the matter.

The extent of the works carried out by William would have rendered it quite possible for him to have done similar honours to many of his patrons. The west front of the cloisters was rebuilt by him, as well as the nave with its north and south aisles. It is also stated that he ordered "two tablets to be prepared by the diligent skill of the sculptors, for the purpose of being erected at the altar of St. Guthlac; and that he might render them more beauteous in appearance he ordered the lower one to be painted, while he had the whole of the upper one gilded." It may reasonably be inferred from this quotation that tablet-forming was popular at this time. The history also states that he completely rebuilt the refectory house with artistic elegance and the greatest magnificence.

The importance of the discovery of the tablet lies in the fact of its connecting the history with the building by an actual name, and the sentiment of the request, "Orate p' aia", might have been taken nearly direct from the language of the historian. Its size and the style of its execution forbid the thought of its having been put into the position in which it was found in any casual or accidental manner, and probability points to the conclusion that it is one of a series of memorial stones breathing the spirit of the devotion of the Church of the age, and commemorating the names and beneficence of its patrons.—(A.S.C.)

<sup>1</sup> The slab is of the thirteenth century, and the rhyming inscription round the edge is in letters of that period, "Petre preces pro me Petro Pastor pie prome." It has been adapted at a later period to the memory of Jo. Tomson.—ED.



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### CLASSIFICATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY CHRISTIAN INSCRIBED MONUMENTS IN SCOTLAND.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

*(Read at the Glasgow Congress.)*

ON looking through the back volumes of the proceedings of the various antiquarian societies throughout the country, it will, I think, be found that the number of papers dealing with generalisations is very small as compared with those in which individual structures, monuments, or objects, are described in detail. This must needs be so in the first instance, for it is only when the characteristics and geographical position of all the existing specimens of any particular class of remains have been ascertained that a comprehensive view of the whole can be taken, and theories deduced as to their origin, distribution, and sequence in order of development. In other words, no generalisations can be made until a complete survey has been undertaken of all the materials which form the subject of the investigation in hand.

There is at the present time a most pressing want for an archaeological survey of Great Britain, including within the scope of its operations the plotting down upon the Ordnance Map of every trace of man and his handiwork left by successive generations upon the face of the country.

To take an instance from another branch of science. The archaeologist is now very much in the same position

as the geologist was in the days when he had no map showing the extent and stratification of the various rocks. I believe that it was a very great blunder to pass a Bill for the Protection of Ancient Monuments without first making a general archæological survey. It is of far more importance to science that a permanent record should be kept, giving full particulars about every monument in existence, than that a limited number of them should be acquired as public property. The destruction of ancient remains is at all times to be deplored; but when a monument has been photographed, measured, and accurately described, its loss is not so irreparable as it would otherwise be.

No class of our national antiquities are so deserving of being exhaustively surveyed as the early Christian sculptured stones. I have, for my own satisfaction, made lists showing the geographical distribution of these stones,<sup>1</sup> and marked their positions on the sheets of the Ordnance Map. In the present paper I propose briefly to sum up the results arrived at by a single individual, whose work is necessarily imperfect, in the hope that it may stimulate sufficient interest in the subject to lead to a fuller survey being undertaken either by the Government or by the combined effort of the different archæological societies.

The only maps with which I am acquainted, showing the geographical distribution of the early Christian monuments in Scotland, are those given in Dr. J. Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and in Æ. Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianæ*. These maps are, however, too small to be of much value; and no attempt is made to indicate the different varieties of stones belonging to different periods or localities.

The characteristics by which we are enabled to classify the monuments are—(1), the style of the lettering of the inscriptions; (2), the peculiarities of the ornament and figure-sculpture; and (3), the shape and construction of the monument. These will now be considered in order.

The number of inscribed stones of the Christian period in Scotland is exceedingly small when compared with

<sup>1</sup> A list of the pre-Norman sculptured stones of England, compiled by Prof. G. F. Browne and myself, has already been published in this *Journal*, but a more detailed catalogue is still required.



those in other parts of Great Britain. It is not easy to explain why this should be so, for Scotland possesses more sculptured monuments ornamented in a similar way to the illuminated pages of the Hiberno-Saxon MSS. than are to be found in Ireland, Wales, or England, and the Scot has never been behind his neighbours in literary culture. Although there are comparatively few inscribed stones north of the Tweed, a large proportion of the monuments have symbols carved upon them, the meaning of which is at present unknown. It may, perhaps, turn out eventually that the absence of inscriptions is explained by the presence of these symbols. The following table shows the number and geographical distribution of the Christian inscribed stones of Scotland:—

*Debased Latin Capitals.*—The Catstone at Kirkliston, Edinburgh; Yarrowkirk, Selkirkshire; Kirkmadrine, Wigtonshire; Whithorn, Wigtonshire.

*Debased Latin Capitals and Ogams.*—Newton in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire.

*Ogams only.*—Aboyne, Aberdeenshire; Logie in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire; Scoonie, Fifeshire; Golspie, Sutherlandshire; Broch of Burrian, Orkney; Bressay, Shetland; Cunningsburgh, Gigha, Lunnasting, and St. Ninian's, all in Shetland.

*Anglo-Saxon Capitals.*—Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire.

*Hiberno-Saxon Minuscules.*—St. Vigean's, Forfarshire; Iona, Argyllshire; Papa Stronsay, Orkney.

*Anglian Runes.*—Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire.

*Later Runes.*—Kilbar, I. of Barra, Hebrides; Crosskirk and Cunningsburgh, Shetland; Lethnott, Forfarshire.

Dr. J. Anderson, in his Rhind Lectures,<sup>1</sup> tells us that the method adopted by the archæologist in dealing with his specimens consists in—“(1), arranging them in groups possessing certain characteristics in common; (2), determining the special types of which these groups are composed; (3), determining the geographical range of each special type; (4), in determining its relations to other types within or beyond its own special area; and (5), determining the sequence of the types existing within the geographical area which is the field of study.” He further tells us<sup>2</sup> that the typical characteristics of any

<sup>1</sup> *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1st Series, p. 20.    <sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 76.

particular class of structures or monuments "are most readily obtained from the study and comparison of the greatest possible number of the most perfect specimens", and that "this number is more likely to be met with in the principal group of specimens" existing in the locality where the type originated "than in the derived group", consisting of offshoots of the principal group found in some other geographical area. Thus, if the positions of all the examples of any special class of ancient remain be marked upon a map, the principal group is generally to be found where the examples are most closely crowded together. We see, therefore, what very important results are to be obtained from an archaeological survey.

Assuming that we have now before us a map showing the geographical distribution of the early inscribed Christian monuments throughout Great Britain, and that the origin of each different kind of lettering is to be sought in the part of the country where the stones on which they occur are most numerous, we learn the following facts. In the first place it will be seen that all the groups of inscribed stones in Scotland, given in our list, are derived groups, since the principal groups exist outside its area. Thus the principal group of Ogam inscriptions is situated in the south-west of Ireland, that of inscriptions in debased Latin capitals in Cornwall or Wales, that of biliteral inscriptions in both Ogams and debased Latin capitals in Pembrokeshire, that of inscriptions in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules in Ireland, that of inscriptions in Anglian Runes and Saxon capitals in Northumbria, and that of inscriptions in later Runes in the Isle of Man.

The derived groups of inscribed monuments in Scotland are, as we have already observed, very small ones. The inscriptions in debased Latin capitals are the oldest, and probably belong to the period between A.D. 450 and 650. These inscriptions are cut on rude pillar-stones devoid of dressing or ornament of any kind, having in addition to the lettering the Chi-Rho monogram of Christ in a few instances. There are four inscriptions of this class in Scotland, all in that part of the country south of the Forth.

The Ogam inscriptions occurring in Scotland differ from those found in other parts of Great Britain in being

carved on highly ornamented crosses instead of on rude pillar-stones; the letters being on a stem-line, not on the angle of the stone, and with points between the words. There are ten of these inscriptions in Scotland, one half of which are in Shetland, one in Orkney, and the remainder in the north-east part of the country. They seem to be of later date than those of Ireland and Wales, and may possibly belong to the seventh, eighth, or even ninth century. The four Ogam inscriptions on the mainland of Scotland are on stones bearing the symbols of unknown meaning already mentioned. The geographical distribution of Ogam inscriptions in Great Britain shows that this kind of letter was used only by the Celts; and as no instances are known abroad, the Ogam alphabet was most probably of native origin.

There are only three inscriptions in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules in Scotland,—one at St. Vigean's in Forfarshire, on an erect cross-slab covered with Celtic ornament, animals, and symbols; another on a sepulchral slab at Iona, with a plain cross; and a third on a rough, unhewn stone at Papa Stronsay in Orkney. Minuscules of similar appearance are found on the sculptured crosses and in the Hiberno-Saxon MSS. of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

The number of minuscule inscriptions in Scotland is so small that nothing is to be learnt from the geographical distribution of the specimens; but it is a very remarkable fact that the form of letter which is most usually associated with the peculiar Celtic ornamental patterns in Ireland and Wales is so conspicuously wanting on monuments of the same type and period in Scotland.

There are two inscriptions in Roman capitals of the Hiberno-Saxon period in Scotland,—one on the cross at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, and the other on a small fragment covered with Celtic ornament, found at Lethnott in Forfarshire, and now preserved in the Museum of National Antiquities in Edinburgh. Although Roman capital letters are used in the Hiberno-Saxon MSS., no inscriptions occur on sculptured stones either in Ireland or Wales in this character, most of the examples being in the north of England. Both the debased capitals to be seen on the rude pillar-stones of the early Christian



period and the well-formed letters on the later elaborately sculptured crosses are variants of the Roman alphabet.

The chief characteristics of the debased Roman capitals are the great irregularity of the formation of the letters due to the want of skill in writing possessed by a semi-barbarous population; and in the later specimens a gradual tendency towards the minuscule shape of letters, as shown by the introduction of transitional forms. The Hiberno-Saxon capitals, on the other hand, were executed at a time when the minuscule alphabet had been fully developed, and the art of the scribe had reached a high pitch of perfection; consequently the Saxon capitals exhibit none of the faulty execution of the debased capitals of the earlier period. On the contrary, every letter is beautifully formed and equal in merit to those on Roman inscribed stones of the best description, from which they are only to be distinguished by certain peculiarities, such as the diamond-shaped o, the z-shaped s, and a general leaning towards angularity. Other modifications of the Roman capitals in Saxon times seem to have resulted from coming in contact with the Runic alphabet.

The practice of beginning a new sentence with a capital letter is quite unknown on the inscribed stones. All the letters, whether capitals or minuscules, are made of equal size; and in many instances the two are mixed together, sometimes several different forms of one letter occurring in the same inscription.

The inscriptions in Hiberno-Saxon capitals in Scotland are outliers or offshoots of the principal group of specimens existing in Northumbria, and belong to the same period as the Anglian Runes with which they are often associated, as at Ruthwell. In fact, the Ruthwell inscription really belongs to England rather than Scotland; so that the Lethnott Stone is the only one in Scotland proper which has Hiberno-Saxon capitals upon it, and even these are mixed with letters, some resembling Runes, and others more like minuscules. The date of the inscriptions in Hiberno-Saxon capitals is probably of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Lastly we come to the Runic inscriptions. Two entirely



different kinds of Runic letters are found on the inscribed stones of Great Britain,—(1), Anglian Runes, which are akin to the Old Northern Runes of Scandinavia; and (2), later Runes, which were introduced into this country at the time of the Norse and Danish invasions.

The Anglian Runes were derived originally from Scandinavia, at a period some centuries before the later Norse Runes came into use, and occur on stones found exclusively in the Saxon parts of England. The only example in Scotland, that at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, belongs to this group.

There are five stones with inscriptions in later Runes in Scotland, and, as might be expected, they are all on the islands round the coast,—one being in the Hebrides, at Kilbar, on the Island of Barra; and the remainder in Shetland, one at Crosskirk (now lost), and three at Cunningsburgh. These are all outliers of the principal group in the Isle of Man, and belong to the period when the Norse pirates devastated all the places which were accessible by sea in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

The inscriptions occur on crosses showing a curious admixture of the Scandinavian with the Celtic element in the style of the ornament.

The scenes depicted on the figure-sculpture of some of the stones also indicated that although Christianity had superseded paganism as the religion of the sea-rovers who erected the Rune-inscribed crosses, the old Northern mythological stories of Sigurd and Fafner, of the bound Loké, and of Velund the Smith, had not yet lost their hold on the imaginations of the people.

In now concluding our survey of the Christian inscribed monuments of Scotland we can only express our astonishment that when so much is to be learnt from this branch of research, so little care has been taken to collect or preserve the materials whence these precious “sermons in stones” are to be obtained.

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## ROTHESAY AND BUTE.

BY REV. J. KING HEWISON, M.A., F.S.A.SCOT.

(*Delivered orally at Rothesay and St. Blane's during the Glasgow Congress, August 1888.*)

ONE peculiarity of Rothesay Castle is its circular wall enclosing an area 135 ft. in diameter, the original wall being 8 ft. thick and 20 ft. high. The lower part of this wall is the oldest part of the Castle, dating anterior to the thirteenth century. It is supposed that it superseded a Celtic *cashel* or *rath*, which accounts for the irregularity of its circular form. Four lofty exterior circular towers, 33 ft. in diameter, flank the great wall on the north-east, north-west, south-east, and south-west; each tower having its separate entrance below, and also from the wall-top, by an arrangement used in times of peace.

The method of defence was similar to that used in the thirteenth century. There was no keep, the towers being utilised as separate places of defence. This is borne out by the fact that there are visible the remains of four separate stairs leading up to the curtain-walls. One of these is styled "The Bloody Stairs" on account of some forgotten incident in the history of the fortress, or on account of its component stones being of a red colour.

The main gateway is very narrow, and faces the north. It has evidently been surmounted by a small barbican pierced by a pointed archway of the thirteenth century. Beyond this was built the great barbican, completed about 1540.

The original walls, of Norman freestone masonry, have been raised about 10 ft., whinstone and slate being used in the building; the old battlements also being lifted, leaving, however, the paved floor of the wall-top to become the covered passages, in the heart of the wall, seen leading from tower to tower.

The great barbican, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, was, as could be seen, occupied more as a residence than a place of defence.

The area within the walls was covered with buildings,

the foundations of which are visible, among others being the two-storeyed Chapel of St. Michael.

The earliest mention of the Castle is found in the records of the Norse invasion in 1228, when Husbac, King of the Sudreys, besieged the Scots in a Castle in Bute, and one of his officers killed the Steward of Scotland upon its walls. Hewing through the "soft" walls the Vikings won the Castle.

In 1263 it was again captured by the lieutenants of King Haco. It seems also to have changed keepers in the Wars of Independence, and to have suffered partial demolition in 1312, to be rebuilt a few years later by Edward Baliol. The Scottish kings, down till 1540, made it a favourite place of residence. Tradition says that Robert III died within its walls, in a room, a portion of the groined roof of which is still pointed out, although it is now generally accepted that Dundonald Castle was the scene of the King's death.

In 1489, James IV incarcerated Patrick Lindsay in a dark dungeon within the Castle, "quhair he schould not sie his feitt for ane year". In 1498, the Stewarts of Bute were appointed hereditary keepers of the Castle, an office now held by the Marquess of Bute.

The royal arms over the outer doorway of the great barbican, consisting of the lion rampant on a shield surmounted by a crown, and supported by two unicorns,—a form of the insignia first used by James IV,—have led to the inference that he built this part of the structure; but it is more probable that it was erected in the time of James V, who in 1540 gave Sir James Hamilton three thousand crowns to repair the Palace; but Hamilton embezzled the money.

In 1544, the Earl of Lennox and an English fleet seized the island and Castle. In 1650, a troop of Cromwellian soldiers garrisoned the fortress. During the Presbyterian struggle for independence, in 1685, the Duke of Argyle plundered and partially destroyed the Castle. The hereditary custodians were apparently dislodged and compelled to build a new residence, still to be seen in the High Street. At least, a tradition goes that one of the Earls of Bute, who had married a daughter of the Duke of Argyle, after this, when taunted by his bride as to the

meanness of the dwelling to which he had brought her, replied, "Had your father not burned down my house, you would have had a palace to live in."

In 1816, the ruins were explored and repaired, nothing of importance having been discovered; and again, in 1871-2, the present Marquess of Bute had the Castle thoroughly examined, and the moat excavated, under the superintendence of Mr. Burges, architect, the whole being tastefully laid out as it now appears. It was then discovered that the piles on which the original drawbridge was reared were still existing, but burned to the water-edge, and on these the supports of the present working drawbridge have been erected.

The parish church stands on the site of the Cathedral of the Isles,—the Sudreyar as the adjacent isles were called by the Norsemen, or Sodor as they are still designated in the title of the Bishop of Sodor and Man. The church had a double dedication, to St. Brioc (Cilla' Bhruic), a Saint of the sixth century, and to the Virgin Mary. The original pre-Reformation church was removed in 1692, and on its site another erected, which was also taken down in 1796 to give place to the present structure.

It is supposed that the chapel adjoining the church, called St. Mary's, Kilmory, or Lady Kirk, was the chancel or choir of the original edifice. It measures 27 ft. 7 in. long, 17 ft. 8 in. broad, and about 9 ft. high; and from its late First-Pointed style, the date of its erection appears to have been the period when the first Stewart kings were resident in the Isle. It seems to contain fragments of an earlier edifice. Apart from its architectural characteristics, the chapel is most notable now for containing three beautiful effigies, lying, I am sorry to say, in disgraceful disfigurement. Grave controversies had been waged around them, since there was no record to show to whose memories they had been placed there.

The tomb which the Marquess of Bute had referred to in his Presidential Address to the Congress was the one on the south side of the chapel, where the recumbent figure of a warrior, armed cap-à-pie, within a low Gothic recess, is visible. There were four theories regarding this effigy: first, that it was a monument to Robert II; second, to Robert III; third, to Sir John Stewart of Bonkill;



and fourth, to a Stewart, Sheriff of Bute. But Dr. David Laing had suggested that since the quartering of the coats of arms upon the monument was—1st and 4th, Stewart; the 2nd and 3rd, the royal arms; and as there was collateral evidence bearing on his inference,—it refers to Walter Stewart, eighth hereditary Lord High Steward of Scotland, who died in 1327; and who married Marjory Bruce, daughter of King Robert I.

The effigy in the northern recess, which is that of a lady holding a babe by her left side, might thus represent Marjory, who died in giving birth to Robert II, whom we find, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, erecting tombs for his father and mother. Until last century this chapel continued to be the burial-place of the Stuarts of Bute.

The third effigy on the floor is usually associated with the name of Angus, Lord of Bute, who died in 1210; but the remains of a Gothic inscription on the monument, *EM CUMM*, has suggested the name of Wilyem Cummin, a member of a family once closely connected with Bute in the thirteenth century.

In 1296, Gilbert de Templeton, rector of the church, swore fealty to Edward I of England. In 1320, Alan, Bishop of Sodor, was “interred in the Church of the Blessed Mary of Rothesay in Bute”. His successor, Gilbert M’Lellan, was also buried in the same place.

From these and other circumstances it might be inferred that these Bishops, both Galloway men, whose dioceses were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Thronðheim, in Norway, had fixed their Cathedral seats in Rothesay at that disturbed time. In 1662, the Protestant Bishop, Robert Wallace, whose gravestone is still preserved in the churchyard, selected the church for his Cathedral.

In the churchyard a Celtic high cross was shown, dating probably from the eleventh century, of a peculiar type, and cut out of a slab of micaceous schist. The obverse side is divided into three compartments, in which appear respectively the figure of a mounted horseman; a cat-like creature, crowned, and with forked tail; and a cross on which two doves are perched. On the reverse side,

between two compartments of interlaced wicker-work, appears a mounted horseman. The cross had been transported thither from one of the Celtic chapels in the island, was repaired and re-erected by the Rev. J. K. Hewison in 1886.

The sand-glass of the church and an Irish Bible, etc., were also inspected.

Kilblain, or St. Blane's Church, is notable for its romantic situation, overlooking the Frith of Clyde, and elevated between two hills associated with well-known Celtic Saints,—Suidhe Chattan and Suidhe Blaen,—the seats of Catan and Blane.

Blane, the founder of this church in the sixth century, was the son of Ertha, sister of Catan, and daughter of Aidan, King of Dalriada. His day in the calendar is Aug. 10, 590. Educated in Ireland, under SS. Comgall and Kenneth, Blane travelled to Rome and back through England to Kingarth, which he made his abbacy. The unique remains around the present church, the Cyclopean enclosing walls, the great *Cashel* or Devil's Cauldron, the double burial-ground with upper and lower chapels, the Pilgrim's Stone, the millstone and quern found here, all suggest the former existence of a Celtic monastic establishment.

The Irish annalists record the deaths of several bishops and abbots of Kingarth between 660 A.D. and the close of the eighth century; while Kingarth (the chief garth or sanctuary) was in reality the whole Isle of Bute. It is this church which has always been associated with "Blaen the mild, of Cenngarad". The name *gairadh*, *garad*, an enclosed place, a wall, suggests the wall of boundary and defence to which Alan, the Steward, in 1204, refers when he granted to the Cluniac monks of Paisley "the church of Kengaif, in the Isle of Bote, with all its chapels, and the whole parish of the same isle, and with the whole land which St. Blane, it is said, formerly girded across country, from sea even to sea, by boundaries secure and visible."

Blane, according to Fordun, was buried in Bute, and tradition still avers that the sarcophagus on the south side of the chapel, now bound with bronze, contained his

ashes. Their noble President believed the remains, which had been once exposed, were those of a young girl; but the sarcophagus was too long for an ordinary female.

It is to be noticed that Kilblain stands on what seems to be an artificial mound, surrounded by a wall, as well as an outer *cashel*, while on the south side there is a lower burial-place connected to the higher by a built passage and stairs. The lower grave-yard is called "The Nunnery", or "Women's Burial-Place", and is connected with the following tradition,—that when Blane returned from Rome, bringing holy earth whereon to found his church, and was carrying it to that place, he asked assistance from a woman passing by, and on her refusing him help he banned her, and vowed that no woman should be buried beside the men in the upper burial-ground. But these divisions were not uncommon in the early Celtic Church. Reference was made to an incident of a similar character referred to by Bede in connection with the Monastery at Barking; while in the Isle of Innismurray and also in the Isle of Inniscleraun, in Ireland, there are examples of the women's cemetery surrounding a Lady Chapel outside the burial-place of the men. This superstitious practice lingered in Kilblain till 1665, when it was stopped by an edict of the Presbytery.

The present ruined edifice, consisting of nave and chancel, the chancel-arch being considered a fine example of pure Norman work, was, he believed, built over an older structure, part of which is visible in the chancel-walls. Mr. Galloway, architect, who had accurately described and figured the ruin in the *Archæologia Scotica* (vol. v, Part II), was of the same opinion. One of the Stewarts may have built the Romanesque church about the same time as Rothesay Castle, which is of similar work. It was used as the parish church down till last century.

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Mr. Hewison pointed out Celtic crosses used as memorials, some of which are figured in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*; also a millstone utilised for the socket of a cross; the pilgrim's stone or font; St. Blane's Well, which is reputed to have an especial virtue; the outer

*cashel*, 6 ft. thick, surrounding what is still called "The Orchard"; and "The Devil's Cauldron."

This latter structure, he said, consisted of a circular wall enclosing an area from 31 to 33 ft. in diameter; the wall now being from 8 to 10 ft. thick, and 4 to 12 high, being formed of huge blocks of stone. It was also called "The Dreaming Tree Ruin", a tree having grown within it, whose leaves, it was said, "were made for happy lovers", and were plucked till the tree died. Its use was matter of conjecture. Its usefulness as a broch was scarcely admissible, as it was overlooked by the lofty precipice, Druimen (Gaelic, little ridge), under which it is situated. It may have been the *carcair*, or cell, where an early hermit had his little house and oratory, where, like St. Cuthbert, he could only see the heavens above him, and be "far from the madding crowd". The doorway entered from the south side, in the base of the wall.

From all these works it was easily seen that here we have not merely a ruined parish church, but the interesting remains of an early Celtic monastic establishment.

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## THE CHURCH OF ST. VALENTINE AT ROME.

BY J. RUSSELL FORBES, ESQ.

*(Read 6th March 1889.)*

SINCE the discovery of the Basilica of St. Valentine on the Via Flaminia, in December 1888, the excavations have progressed, and I am enabled to give some interesting details.

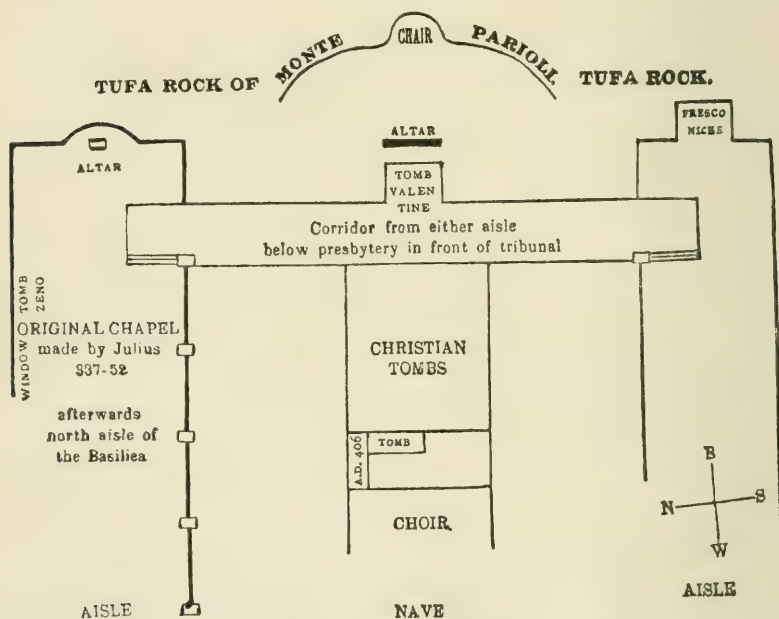
The remains of the curiously shaped brick altar at the east end of the chapel or oratory founded by Julius I have been described, and attention called to traces of frescoing on the wall of the niche, upon which the following letters, white on a blue ground, can be seen :

SC̄ISSIMUS ET BEATISSIMUS . ROMANORVM TOME SIO

The characters are late, and probably form part of the restorations of Nicholas II in 1060.

In the nave (to the left in facing the altar), and against the north side-wall of the chapel, was found a tomb, and near it the inscription, + S ZENO. The sarcophagus has the usual wavy lines of the fourth century, with the portrait of a woman in the centre as an *orante*; perhaps the Virgin Mary. At either end is represented an apostle, probably SS. Paul and Peter. By the tomb, in the wall, are remains of a window. St. Zeno is associated with St. Valentine, and generally called his brother; but there must be some mistake in this as Valentine suffered Feb. 14th, 270, and Zeno, April 12th, 380, or 110 years afterwards. The work, *De Locis Sanctorum Martyrum* (ninth century), speaks of "Zenonis, fratris Valentini", as buried with others in the Catacombs near the Via Appia. These are those now called St. Prætextatus. From there the body was brought to this church, and afterwards translated to the Chapel of St. Zeno in the Church of St. Prassede. From the north wall of the Chapel it is 30 yards to the entrance of the Catacombs, which are to the north-east. Between them are some pagan tombs with a tufa wall having courses of bricks at top and base.

I have now to speak of an interesting discovery in the history of the church. The original chapel had fallen into decay, perhaps ruined by the Goths, and so Pope Honorius I undertook its restoration, which was completed by Theodore I, 625-42. The excavations show that they virtually built a new church to the south of the original chapel, which became the north aisle of the new basilican church. This was considerably larger than the former, its entry extending towards the Via Flaminia. It is 31 yards 4 in. in breadth. The original chapel was 25 ft. wide.



Church of St. Valentine.

The body of St. Valentine was brought out from his catacombs, and placed in the new church; and we may presume that of St. Zeno was brought from St. Prætextatus at the same time, and placed in the aisle, or original church, the altar at the end being probably rededicated to him. The apse, presbytery, and choir of the new church were raised considerably above the floor of the nave, so that the body of St. Valentine reposed below the altar, under the presbytery. This was reached by a corridor which is still paved with slabs of beautiful pavonazzetto marble. Half way along it, so as to be under

the altar, is a square recess in which were deposited the remains of the Saint. Here was found a piece of an inscription, *MARTYR*, and a fragment of a lattice-worked screen, through which evidently visitors looked at the martyr's body. The chancel-screen formed one side of this corridor, and from it the choir extended into the church, as at St. Clement's; and, like the latter, this was decorated with the thirteenth century Cosimati work.

Beneath the floor of the choir Christian tombs were found older than the church, for that had been erected over part of the cemetery. One of these, left *in situ*, dates A.D. 406, by the consuls named. It is the grave of a little boy:—

DN . ARCADIO . AVG<sup>VI</sup> . ET . ANICIO . PROBO  
VC . CONSS . DEPOSITVS . IIII . NONAS  
SEPT . PETRVS . IVNIOR . IN . PACE . QVI . VIXIT  
MENSES . XI . DXXV . BENEMERENS .

The niche in the tribunal, behind the altar, evidently contained a bishop's chair.

The *De Locis Sanctorum Martyrum*, already mentioned work, thus speaks of the church: "Inde prope juxta Via Flaminea, apparet ecc'la mirifice ornata s'ci Valentini mar'. Ubi ipse corpore jacet et multi s'ci ibidem sunt sepulti." The *Salisbury Itinerary* has, "Deinde intrabis per urbem ad Aquilonem donec pervenies ad portam Flamineam, ubi quiescit via Flaminea sanctus Valentinus in basilica magna quam Honorius reparavit et alii Martyres in aquilone plaga sub terra."

At the end of the south aisle is a square niche with remains of a fresco representing the figure of a woman in the Byzantine style. On her right is written

...  
S  
I  
R  
I  
S

This church was restored in 1060 by Pope Nicholas II, as recorded in an inscription in the Church of S. Silvestro in Capite, adjoining the G. P. O.:

HVIS . ECCLESIAE . TRES . TRAVES . MUTAVIT . PORTICVS  
QVAE . CIRCA . SVNT . OMNES . RENOVAVIT  
VCONAS . VERO . QVINQVE . FECIT

PASSIONARIUM . IN . FESTIVITATE . S . VALENTINI  
 CAMPANILE . I . CAMPANAS . II . CLAVSVRAM  
 MONASTERII . A . FVNDAMENTO . CONSTRVXIT  
 FEB . D . III . INDIC . XIII . TEMPORIB . DNI . NICOLAI . SCDI . PP.

An inscription of the time of Pope Nicholas IV (1288-92) shows that the body of the Saint was translated to the Chapel of St. Zeno, in S. Prassede, where both still repose. The church was ruined in the troubles of the fourteenth century, and destroyed in the fifteenth, when all the fittings of value were removed to the Church of S. Silvestro in Capite. The walls of the original chapel have the usual fourth century construction, alternate layers of brick and tufa stone; but the walls of the seventh century basilica are built of old material, and have no special character, except that they are very bad. The only column found is of red granite, and the capital is Ionic.

Amongst the funereal inscriptions found, the following are of special interest as confirming that these ruins are of the Church of St. Valentine :

HIC . PASTOR . MEDICVS . MONVMENTVM  
 FELIX . DVM . SVPEREST . CONDIDIT . I  
 PERFECIT . CVMCTA . EXCOLVIT . QVI  
 CERNET . QVO . IACEAT . POENA . M  
 ADDETVR . ET . TIBI . VALENTINI . GLORIA . Sancti  
 VIVERE . POST . OVITVM . DAT . *Deus Omnipotens.*

The next inscription is in writing hand, and is fragmentary :

[Depo]situs in p[ace]  
 [q]ui vixit annos  
 saqui m  
 rqr  
 e

asen Petru qu[i]  
 qui receisdus  
 ad ad domnu [Valentinu]  
 receset d C TI Kalendas a[ugus]  
 tas brucia refrigeri  
 tibi V[alentinus]

William of Malmesbury speaks of the church in 1126, "Secunda porta Flaminæ, quæ modo appellatur sancti Valentini, et Flaminæ Via."

When Pope Paschal I (817-24) put the mosaics in the church of St. Prassede he included in his work portraits of Valentine and Zeno, which may yet be seen on the



vault of the Tribunal. The body of St. Zeno seems to have been removed by Leo III, in 810, to the chapel in St. Prassede, which is highly decorated with mosaics of that time. In this chapel repose both the bodies of St. Zeno and St. Valentine.

The Porta Flaminia, now named the Porta del Popolo, was once called the Porta Valentino.

The Catacombs of St. Valentine were discovered in 1878 by Professor Orazio Marucchi. They had been turned into a wine-cellar. The first crypt is that in which St. Valentine was buried, and is the only part frescoed. The fresco of the Crucifixion, illustrated by Bozio and Aringhi, had been cut through in making the cellar, leaving only the Saviour's left, extended arm, and under it the figure of St. John. On the left wall is part of another fresco with the letters

L  
O  
N  
A

part of the name Salona ; and to the spectator's left is the niche of the Virgin with the infant Christ. On the left of the Virgin is written

E  
N  
E  
T  
R  
I  
X

part of the word *genetrix*. On the left wall of the crypt are traces of a group of saints. These frescos are Byzantine, of the ninth century, made after the body was taken into the Basilica, when the Catacombs were visited as places of veneration by the pilgrims.

## CELTIC ORNAMENT ON THE CROSSES OF CORNWALL.

BY ARTHUR G. LANGDON, ESQ.

(Read 6th March 1889.)

IN a previous paper<sup>1</sup> read before the Association, the subject of the "Early Christian Monuments of Cornwall" was dealt with by myself and Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot. I propose, on the present occasion, to examine in detail the ornamental features of the sculptured crosses.

In writing on this matter (which has not hitherto been treated separately), and to give at the outset a clear outline of our subject, I have thought it best to divide this paper into four parts,—(1), a list of all the stones with Celtic ornament upon them; (2), a description in detail of some of the different examples; (3), some general remarks on the work; (4), an analysis of the ornament, side by side, with similar specimens which exist in other parts of Great Britain and Ireland.

The following is a revised and corrected list of that already given at the end of the paper referred to (p. 324, xi, a, b, c, and d), since publishing which I have had an opportunity of visiting the remaining Celtic stones, and am now able to give a reliable list, including those not before noted, and omitting any upon which Celtic ornament does not appear. The twenty-six stones therein named are all decorated with the same kind of Celtic patterns which are found on the crosses of Great Britain and Ireland, and are also used in the illuminations of the Hiberno-Saxon MSS. of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. The localities where these crosses exist are as follow :—

(a.) *Complete with Head and Shaft.*

Parish.	Place.
Cardynham . . .	In churchyard <sup>2</sup>
Lanhydrock . . .	In churchyard

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlii, Part IV, p. 301. 1888.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in *The Builder*, 30 March 1889.

Parish.	Place.
Lanivet . . .	In churchyard (2)
Mawgan in Pyder . . .	Lanherne Nunnery <sup>1</sup>
Phillack . . .	In churchyard <sup>2</sup>
Quethiock . . .	In churchyard <sup>3</sup>
St. Neot . . .	Four-hole cross on Temple Moor <sup>4</sup>
St. Teath . . .	In cemetery <sup>5</sup>
Sancreed (2) . . .	In churchyard. <sup>6</sup> By Vicarage gate <sup>7</sup>
Tintagel . . .	Trevena <sup>8</sup>

(b.) *Head only, or with small Portion of Shaft.*

Padstow (2) . . .	Prideaux Place. <sup>9</sup> In Dr. Marley's garden
St. Breage . . .	In churchyard
St. Breward . . .	National Schools
St. Columb Major . . .	In churchyard <sup>10</sup>
St. Minver . . .	In St. Michael's churchyard

(c.) *Shaft only.*

Gulval . . .	In churchyard
Minster . . .	On Water Pit Down
St. Blazey . . .	Biscovey
St. Cleer . . .	Near Redgate (2)
St. Erth . . .	In churchyard <sup>11</sup>
St. Just in Penwith . . .	In church (north wall)
St. Neot . . .	In churchyard

(d.) *Part of Shaft and Base only.*

Padstow . . .	In churchyard
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In addition to these crosses there are two inscribed altar-slabs at Camborne, very similar to each other, with square key-pattern borders and incised crosses within; one is in the church, and the other at Pendarves.<sup>12</sup> There is also a beautiful coped or recumbent stone, 7 ft. 6 in. long, covered with key-pattern ornament, etc., in the churchyard of Lanivet, on the south side of the church.

Of the above crosses six only are inscribed,—Tintagel and Gulval in capitals; Lanherne in mixed capitals and minuscules; St. Cleer, St. Blazey, and Cardynham, in minuscules only. Some of the stones will now be described.

<sup>1</sup> 1, 3, 4, and 5, illustrated in *The Builder*, 30 March 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlv, Part 4 (1888), frontispiece.

<sup>6</sup> 6, 7, and 8, *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Illustrated in *The Builder*, 30 March 1889.

<sup>10</sup> 10 and 11, *Journal*, xlv, Part 4, pp. 324, 313 (1888).

<sup>12</sup> The Pendarves slab is now used as a sundial, a gnomon having been inserted in it by the owner.

*Lanherne Cross* (Plate 1).—Lanherne, in the parish of Mawgan-in-Pyder, and Deanery of Pyder, is three miles north-west from St. Columb, and five miles and a half from St. Columb Road Railway Station on the Cornwall minerals line.

The monolith stands in the Nunnery grounds adjoining the church, and was brought there many years ago from a field called "Chapel Close", on the barton of Roseworthy, in Gwinear, near Camborne. It is the most beautiful specimen of an elaborately decorated cross in Cornwall, and executed with much greater care and skill than was usually bestowed on these monuments. This is probably accounted for by the fact of its being made of Pentewan stone,<sup>1</sup> which is softer and more easily worked than granite, which, with one or two exceptions, is the material used for all the others.

It belongs to the class known in Cornwall as "four-holed crosses", which have the expanded arms of the cross connected by a circular ring, the spaces between the ring and the arms of the cross being pierced right through the stone.

There is an entasis on the shaft, which is rather more marked on the south-west front than on the other sides. The angles have a bead-moulding, which is narrowed and continued round the head, while the connecting ring is moulded with a triple bead on the front and back, and below the arms. The portion above the arms has four beads; but unfortunately the upper part of the head is somewhat broken. The dimensions are as follow: total height, 4 ft. 10 in.; diameter of ring, 16 in.; shaft, 11½ in. wide at the bottom, and about 8 in. thick, tapering to about 5½ in. at the head.

*South-West Front.*—All four sides are sculptured as follows: on the head, the figure of the Crucifixion rudely executed, with the limbs of the Saviour extended straight along the arms of the cross, according to the ancient Byzantine fashion. The shaft is divided into two panels, the upper one containing triple-beaded plaitwork, and the lower an inscription in mixed minuscules and capitals:—

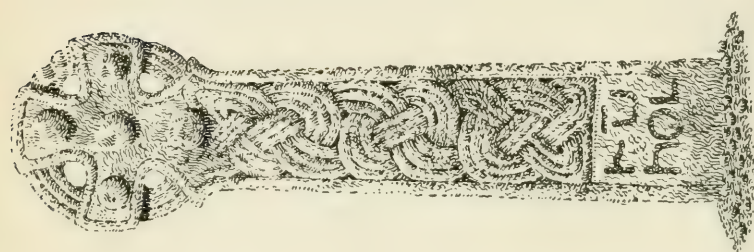
<sup>1</sup> A greenish, metamorphosed rock, or altered picrolite, similar to that found at the Polyphant Quarry, near Launceston, etc.







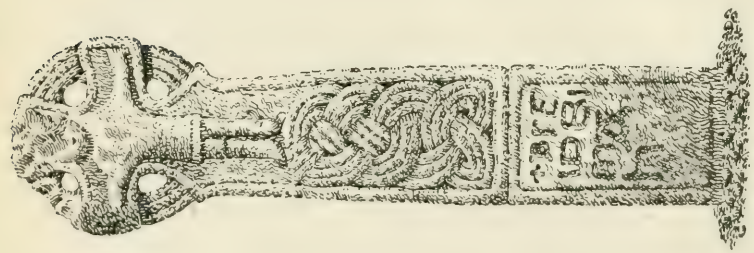
NW.



NE.



SE.



SW.

*Arthur's Dinglons*  
30. Sept. 88



THE CROSS AT LANHERNE, CORNWALL (PLATE I).

+ BΓ E  
 IDE<sub>T</sub>I  
 m A  
 h

*North-East Front.*—On the head five bosses, sometimes supposed to symbolise the five wounds. The shaft is divided into two panels, the upper one containing triple-beaded knotwork, and the lower an inscription in similar characters to those on the south-west front:

rū  
 hol

*South-East Side.*—On the head, at the end of the arm, two elliptical rings placed crosswise and interlaced. On the shaft a continuous band of double-beaded, spiral knotwork.

*North-West Side.*—On the end of the arm two rings similar to those on the opposite side. This side of the shaft is particularly interesting, for here occurs the only specimen of zoomorphic,<sup>1</sup> interlaced work in Cornwall. This is a dragon with a serpentine body, which passes up the panel, and in returning fills the spandrils with continuous Stafford knotwork, terminating in the mouth.

The Rev. W. Iago, of Bodmin, gives the following reading of the inscriptions:—

+ B(EATU)S EID ET IMAH

and says, "In support of this I find that on certain stones given by Hübner we have 'Sanctus', 'Pius', 'Christianus', 'Praecipuus', applied as title to those commemorated; therefore we have + BS for 'Beatus'. We can then read the whole legend like the others, consisting of names, '+ The Blessed Eid and Imah'; and on the back of the cross the name of the man who had the cross set up to their memory, viz. 'Runhol'. I regard the RŪHOL as a contraction for 'Runhol'."

*The Inscribed Cross at Trevena, Tintagel.*<sup>3</sup>—Tintagel, anciently called "Dundagell", in the Deanery of Trigg

<sup>1</sup> On the west side of the cross in St. Breage churchyard, on the top of the shaft, are the remains of what appears to be the head of a dragon somewhat similar to the above.

<sup>2</sup> Hübner, *Inscriptiones Christianae Britanniae*.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Maclean, *Deanery of Trigg Minor*, vol. iii, p. 109.

Minor, is romantically situated on the north coast of Cornwall, six miles north-west of Camelford, twenty north of Bodmin, and twenty from Launceston Railway Station.

The cross now stands in the small garden in front of the Wharnccliffe Arms Hotel at Trevena (the village of Tintagel). It was removed some years ago from Trevillet, a farm near by, where for a considerable period it had done duty as a gate-post. The holes for the gate, and mutilated condition of the whole stone, testify to the treatment it received in that position. The stone itself is a peculiar kind of very fine granite.

The whole design of this cross is quite different from any other in Cornwall. The crosses on each side of the head are formed by a double bead radiating from the central boss, and stopped on a raised cable-moulding at the ends of the arms; but this ornament now only exists on the lower arm on each front, and traces of it still remain on the edges of the shaft, all the rest having been broken off. The following are the dimensions: height, 3 ft. 11 in.; width, 16 in.; and 7 in. thick at the bottom, tapering to 4 in. at the top.

It is inscribed in capitals, and sculptured on each front as follows. On the south front the central boss is enriched with a kind of quatrefoil cross deeply sunk, and between the arms were four little triquetra-knots, but only one is complete. The inscription is perfectly legible, and contains the names of the four Evangelists written in a most remarkable manner. The first name, MATHEUS, is in two horizontal lines; the second, MARCUS, in two vertical lines; the third, LUCAS, has the first four letters horizontal, but upside down, and the last letter s on the skew; the fourth name, IOH̄ (JOHANNES) is vertical; so that the inscription in a manner reads round, as if on a flat stone.

On the north front, in place of the triquetra-knots, were four little bosses, but only three are left. The inscription on this side is in horizontal lines, and reads

ÆLNAT + FECIT HAĀ CRUCEM P(RO) ANIMA SŪ  
(Ælnat + made this cross for his soul.)

On each side of the inscriptions, vertically, was a long incised cross with the head at the bottom; the cross



itself widened at the ends of the arms and head. One of these has been hacked away from the north-east angle.

*Cardynham Churchyard Cross.*—Cardynham, or Cardinham, in the Deanery of Bodmin, is situated four miles north-east of Bodmin. The granite cross stands opposite the south porch of the church, and is the best preserved example of its kind in the county; owing, most likely, to its having been built into the church wall<sup>1</sup> for a great number of years. From an interesting sketch kindly supplied by the Rev. W. Iago I am able to give the position of the two parts of the cross as they existed in the outside of the chancel-wall previous to the restoration of the church. Both parts were visible in the east wall,—the head below, and towards the south side of the window; and the shaft laid flat above the plinth, forming a corner-stone at the south-east angle. When the church was restored in 1872 they were taken out, and erected where they now stand, by the then Rector, the Rev. G. Hyde-Smith.

Being anxious to ascertain the length of the shaft, or if it was fixed into a base, I had it excavated last autumn, but was only able to get down about 12 in., when I found it was jammed in round the bottom with large stones, so it is impossible to say how tall the monument really is.

This belongs also to the four-holed class. A bead runs round the arms of the head, and the ring is ornamented on both sides with a bead at the angles, and a peculiar, projecting, broad fillet is seen on the outside, which I have not observed on any other examples. The angles of the shaft have a bold bead stopped at the head. The dimensions are as follow: height (out of the ground), 8 ft. 6 in.; diameter of ring, 3 ft.; shaft at top, 1 ft. 6 in.; at ground-line, 2 ft. 2 in.; thickness, 1 ft. 4 in. at ground-line, tapering to 7 in. at the top of the head. All four sides are deeply sculptured as follow:—

*North Front.*—On the head a central boss, and the arms ornamented with double-beaded triquetra knots

<sup>1</sup> The cross illustrated on top of p. 323 in the *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlv, Part 4, was built into this same wall, on the north side of the other.

connected to each other, and interlacing, and thus forming a beautiful and complete knot,—the only instance of this treatment. The shaft is decorated with very bold, foliated scrollwork, and in addition has a kind of band running down unevenly through the principal bead of the scrolls.

*South Front.*—The head is similar to the front, but the knotwork of the head is formed of a single instead of a double bead; but the work on the east and bottom arms has nearly disappeared. The shaft is divided into three panels. The upper one is inscribed, but only the letter “R” is distinct; the other markings look like a “G” and +. The middle panel contains a curious, interlaced knot which appears to have been broken away in the middle; and the lowest, some irregular, broken six-cord plaitwork.

*West Side.*—On the head, at the end of the arm, a square key-pattern; on the shaft, at the top, is another square key-pattern, but unlike that above, which changes into an entirely different ornament below, without the usual division of a bead between them, consisting of a debased form of chains and rings.

*East Side.*—On the head at the end of the arm a figure-of-eight knot; on the shaft, from the bottom to about half way up, interlaced twists and rings working into simple loops or links at the top.

In point of detail the west side is undoubtedly the most interesting, as in addition to the two different examples of key-patterns we have below “a very peculiar pattern<sup>1</sup> which occurs in Great Britain only in the Isle of Man<sup>2</sup> and the adjacent parts of Cumberland and Anglesey. As the stones in this district are partly Scandinavian, and as the same ornament occurs on a rune-inscribed font at Gallstad Church, Westgotland, and is not found on any other of the purely Celtic stones or MSS., this design may be fairly said to be of Scandinavian origin.”

To show the appreciation of the aborigines for these monuments of antiquity, I may mention that the woman

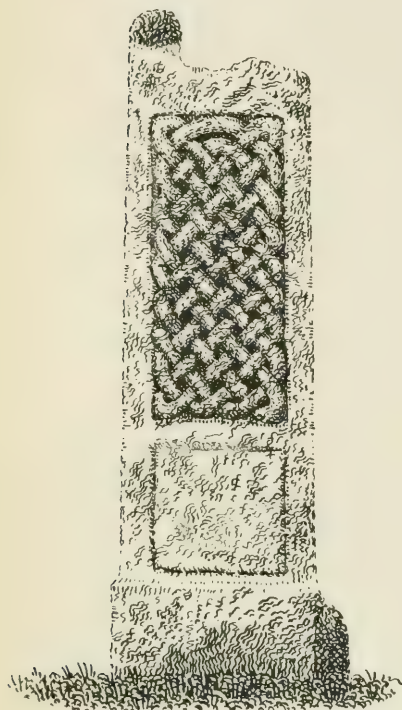
<sup>1</sup> J. R. Allen, *Analysis of Celtic Interlaced Ornament*, p. 233, example No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> “The crosses of the Isle of Man belong to the period of the Scandinavian occupation (A.D. 888-1226), as is proved by their runic inscriptions.”—J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 85.

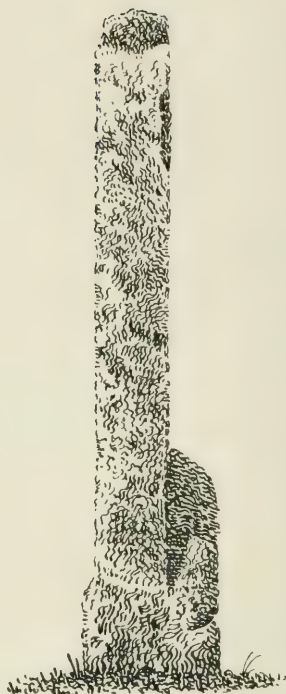


S. Clee.

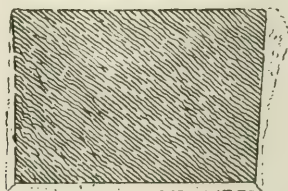
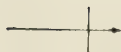
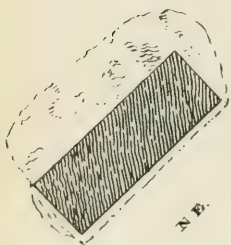
# The "Other Half stone."



N E.



N W.



E.

Relative position of the two stones.

*A. J. Langdon*  
27 Aug<sup>th</sup> 88

Scale: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



who looks after the church informed me that "when the stone was tooked out of the wall, the blacksmith wanted to 'ave 'un to bind his wheels 'pon, but 'e wasn't 'ardly big enough"!

*The St. Cleer Stones*<sup>1</sup> (Plates 2 and 3).—St. Cleer, St. Clere, or St. Clare, in the Deanery of West, is about two miles and a half north of Liskeard, and between it and Redgate, in a field called "Pennant" (*the head of the valley*), stand side by side, and about 5 ft. apart, these two famous stones. The taller one is ornamented, and the shorter one is ornamented and inscribed.

Writing on these stones<sup>2</sup> Borlase says: "In the parish of St. Clere ..... there are two monumental stones which seem to me parts of two different crosses, for they have no such relation to each other as to make one conclude that they ever contributed to form one monument of that kind. The taller one is like the spill of a cross ..... In the top of the stone there is part of a mortice ..... but the making of this mortice seems to have shattered the stone, for part of the shaft ..... is cloven off, and not to be found; from which defect this is called 'The Other Half Stone.' The ground about this stone is much tumbled and searched by digging; and in one of the hollows is the inscribed stone<sup>3</sup>..... I apprehend it might be the pedestal or plinth of a cross, and that the other was either placed at the other end of the grave, or was erected for some other person."

"*The Other Half Stone.*"—"The Other Half Stone", slightly tapering, is 7 ft. out of the ground, and about

<sup>1</sup> The illustrations of these two stones by Hingston and Blight, and all others that I have had an opportunity of examining, as, for example, those in Camden and Borlase, are full of inaccuracies. In the accompanying drawings (Plates 2 and 3), for the first time, have the ornament and inscription been correctly represented.

<sup>2</sup> Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall*, 1754, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> "The inscribed stone lay for some years in a pit which was dug near the other stone, probably in search of treasure; but in 1849, through the exertion of the Exeter Archaeological Society, aided by persons in the neighbourhood, it was drawn out, and a small subterranean, cruciform vault was discovered near its base."—*Parochial History of Cornwall*. 1867.

2 ft. wide above the plinth, which is similar to the inscribed stone. It appears to have been split down the back, as the shaft is only 9 in. in thickness, while at the plinth it is about 17 in. Only the north-east side is sculptured, and this has a fine panel, 3 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 5 in., filled with an eight-cord plait, and finished in a different manner, top and bottom. Between this and the plinth is a plain panel about 16 in. square.

*The Inscribed Stone.*—This inscribed cross base is panelled on all sides by a wide, flat bead. The top of the stone has a large mortice deeply sunk, which has caused the greater part of the west and south sides to break away. The dimensions are as follow : height, 4 ft. 6 in., 3 ft. wide at the bottom, and about 2 ft. thick. The upper portion is tapered from the top to about 9 in. from the ground, where it breaks out  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in., and forms a plinth. The east side is inscribed, and the other three are ornamented with bold and deeply cut plaitwork and knots. Taking the sides separately we have on the east an inscription in minuscules :

doni  
ertr<sup>o</sup>  
gavit  
proan  
ima

doniert rogavit pro anima.

(Doniert has requested prayers for his soul); *i.e.*, Doniert (has erected this monument), and begged prayers to be here offered for the repose of his soul. The same sentiment is frequently expressed on ancient tombstones in the words of St. Monica : “ I care not where you lay my body; but this only I ask, that you remember my soul.”

*North Side.*—A four-cord plait.

*West Front.*—This had originally four knots in the panel, formed by two intersecting oval rings, as already described, but only the two lower ones are perfect.

*South Side.*—A six-cord plait.

An attempt has been made to identify this “ Doniert ”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Camden says : “ As for Doniert, I cannot but think he was that Prince of Cornwall whom the chronicles named Dungenyth, and record that hee was drowned in the yeere of our Salvation 872.”

S. Cleer.

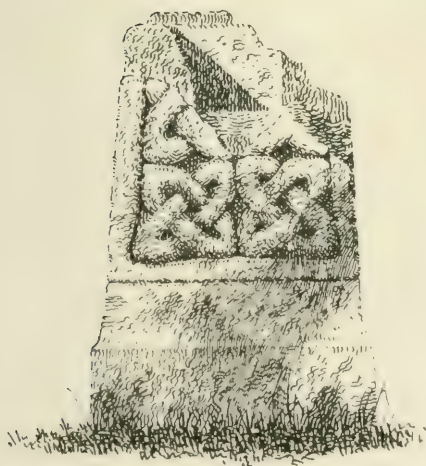
The Inscribed stone.



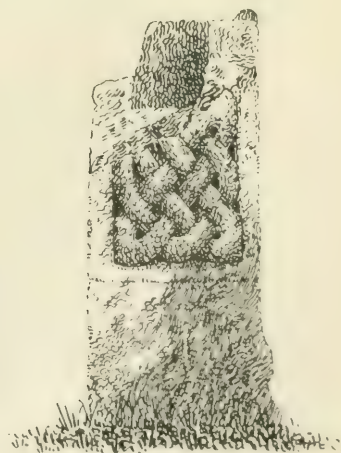
E.



N.



W.



S.

Scale 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

*A. J. Langdon*  
*1884*





with "Dungerth", a prince or king of Cornwall, who was drowned in A.D. 872; at all events there is nothing improbable in accepting this date, as the character of the ornament and style of lettering in the inscription indicate that it is of about this period as regards age. Under these circumstances this information is especially interesting, since it is the only stone which furnishes us with any reliable date; and as nothing is known historically of these stones, any attempt at ascribing dates to them has been carefully avoided; though of course the above gives us some sort of chronological guide in reference to the other stones with similar ornament upon them, which consequently may be taken as belonging to the same period.

*The Camborne Altar-Slab.*—Camborne, in the Deanery of Carnmarth, is three miles south-west of Redruth, on the Great Western Railway.

The above has a square key-pattern border round it, and in the middle an incised Greek cross in outline. It measures 3 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 7 in. by 7 in. thick, and is preserved under the altar in Camborne Church. The inscription, in mixed minuscules and capitals, is written round the stone, and reads as follows:

+Leuiut iustit heC AL<sup>t</sup>Are Pro Anima sua

(+ Leviut<sup>1</sup> ordered this altar<sup>2</sup> [slab to be made] for [the good of] his soul.) The A's in this inscription are of a very remarkable shape, having an additional vertical stroke hanging from the V-shaped cross-bar of the letter, thus A, a peculiarity which occurs in the inscription upon the celebrated Ardagh chalice in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy,—a Celtic work of art of the best period.<sup>3</sup> They are also found on a stone at Llandawke, Carmarthenshire.

We come now to the uninscribed crosses, of which the

<sup>1</sup> "Leviut" signifies "the master or pilot of a ship". See Williams' *Cornu-Brit. Lexicon*.

<sup>2</sup> Borlase says of it (*Antiq.*, p. 365), "I do not at all doubt that it served as a covering of an altar."

<sup>3</sup> George Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, vol. ii, p. 50.

following may be taken as the best typical examples: Sancreed (2), St. Columb Major, and Phillack.

*The Sancreed Crosses.*—Sancreed or Sancreet, in the Deanery of Penwith, lies four miles south-west of Penzance, and possesses two very interesting granite crosses. One stands in the churchyard, and the other by the right hand side of the gate leading to the Vicarage, which is close to the church. It is remarkable that the heads in each case are exactly similar in form, and are the only examples of this kind in Cornwall. In shape they are like a four-holed cross, but not pierced, and the connecting ring not beaded, though the arms are; and the bead is carried down the angles of the shaft, and widened below the neck in the usual manner. The entasis of both the shafts is very pronounced.

*The Sancreed Churchyard Cross.*—The monolith stands on the south side of the church, and is considered to be *in situ*. It is in an almost perfect state of preservation. The dimensions are as follow: height, 6 ft. 4 in.; diameter of ring, 1 ft. 6½ in.; width across the arms, 1 ft. 7 in. The shaft is nearly square, varying from 10½ in. to 12½ in. at the bottom, and 10 in. to 11 in. at the neck. The cross is sculptured on all four sides as follows:

*East Front.*—On the head the figure of the Crucifixion with the features remaining, this and another at Pen-darves (Camborne) being the only cases where they appear. Below the feet of the figure is an incised panel formed by a rectangular figure, and two diagonal lines from corner to corner.

Now with regard to this incised work, I must here point out that this particular mode of decoration is of an entirely different kind as compared with Celtic, and so deserves special mention here. As the term implies, it was merely a way of executing the designs by means of incised lines; and it is worthy of notice that this style was freely used on the same crosses where interlaced work, key-patterns, and scrolls appear, showing at least that the two styles were contemporary.

This branch of the subject should, I think, be treated separately, and I hope to deal with it on some future occasion in another paper, together with the miscella-

neous ornament occurring on the crosses of Crowan, Helston, Mylor, etc.

Continuing our description, we have below this panel an incised vessel with a stiff flower growing out of it, having a kind of fleur-de-lis head. This design is supposed by some to represent the Holy Grail and Lily of the Virgin.

*West Front.*—On the head an incised circle in the middle, and the bead carried round each arm of the cross. On the shaft, immediately below the head, is an incised panel as described, and underneath an incised shield; the beads of the angles stopped at the head.

*North Side.*—On the head a plain panel at the end of the arm, formed by the bead; on the shaft another incised panel in a similar position; and below a single and deeply incised zigzag line.

*South Side.*—On the head a panel like the north side; and on the shaft, at the top, a small panel similar to the others, but forming a kind of double cross; below this, and continued to the bottom, is a splendid example of angular key-pattern ornament, very well and regularly executed.

*Sancreed Vicarage Gate Cross.*—This cross stands on the right hand side of the gate, and adjoining the churchyard. Unfortunately it was re-erected against the wall, and I am consequently unable to give any description whatever of the back.

The Rev. R. Bassett Rogers, Vicar of Sancreed, has kindly furnished me with the following details regarding the discovery of the shaft. He says: "The head<sup>1</sup> I found sunk in an earth socket on top of the hedge close by, and the shaft I found in 1881, during the restoration of the church, built horizontally into the upper and eastern part of the wall of the aisle. All the wall was taken down, and I stood by when the masons began, until they had reached the shaft in question, when I had it carefully lowered to the ground. I then took the head out of the hedge, and finding they fitted one another as well as could be expected, cemented and fixed for security, etc., where you saw them."

<sup>1</sup> Blight, p. 21.

The above interesting account easily explains the somewhat dilapidated condition of the shaft as compared with that in the churchyard. The height of the monument, out of the ground, is 5 ft. 7 in.; diameter of ring, 1 ft. 7½ in.; width across the arms, 1 ft. 9 in. The shaft is 11½ in. wide at the neck, and 6 in. thick; 13½ in. at the bottom, and 7½ in. thick. The cross is sculptured on the three visible sides as follows :

*The Front.*—On the head appears the figure of the Crucifixion, with a bead or nimbus round the head, similar to that on the churchyard wall at St. Paul,<sup>1</sup> near Penzance. There is also a band round the waist, and the arms are slightly bent in the same manner as on the churchyard figure. On the shaft a panel with some double-beaded plaitwork remaining on the lower portion, that on the upper having disappeared.

*Right Side.*—On the shaft a continuous panel of Stafford knotwork with serpentine band, like that at Lanherne, but without the dragon's head.

*Left Side.*—On the shaft a continuous panel of angular key-pattern work, the same as appears on the south side of the churchyard cross. There is no work on the sides of the head.

*St. Columb Major Churchyard Cross.*—St. Columb Major, in the Deanery of Pyder, is sixteen miles north-east of Truro, and two and a half from St. Columb Road Railway Station, on the Cornwall minerals line.

The cross stands in the churchyard, on the east side, and consists of a magnificent granite head and short shaft. Belonging also to the four-holed class, it is, in addition to the general description already given of this kind of monument, one of the six examples possessing cusps or rounded projections in the spaces formed between the circular ring and the arms of the cross. The head has a central boss, the arms are beaded at the angles, and the double beads of the ring are carried through the arms. The total height of the cross is 3 ft. 1½ in.; diameter of ring, 2 ft. 4 in.; width across the arms, 2 ft. 8½ in.; and only 5 in. thick.

The east front is in a very good state of preservation,

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xlv, p. 323.



The triquetra-knot appears on the top and north arm, and interlaced knots on the others.

The west front, for some reason or other, is much mutilated and worn, though the remains of enrichment are similar to that on the east front.

The shaft is only 6 in. high; but whether it was originally longer, it is difficult to determine: judging, however, from the thickness of the stone, and width of the shaft, it probably was not. I have been unable to ascertain whether it stands in its original base.

*Phillack Churchyard Cross.*—Phillack, or St. Fellack, in the Deanery of Penwith, is situated on the shores of St. Ives' Bay, six miles south-west of Camborne, and one mile north of Hayle Station on the Great Western Railway.

The monolith stands on the south side of the church, opposite the porch. For many years it was built into a wall, or probably a wall built round it, only the head showing;<sup>1</sup> but it was moved, and placed where it is now, by the Rector, the Rev. Canon Hockin, to whom I am indebted for the following particulars. He says: "The Phillack Churchyard Cross was placed where it now is when the church was rebuilt in 1856-7. It previously was in a spot about 10 ft. to the northward of its present position. Our churchyard crosses usually are facing the main entrance, a little to the right hand; and this now occupies the same *relative* position to the entrance-gate as it did previously to the *old* entrance-gate, which was on the south side of the church, and which it was desirable to alter. There was no base found, although there had certainly been one originally, as the shaft has a tenon worked at the bottom." These combined facts, of no base being found, and yet a tenon worked, seem to suggest yet another site for this stone, perhaps the original one.

The head is shaped in a similar manner to the four-holed crosses, but the circular ring is not beaded, and the arms are more curved: a double bead runs round them, and the outer one is carried down the angles of the shaft and widened gradually below the neck.

The most interesting points of this monument

<sup>1</sup> The cross in this position is figured in Blight, p. 1889



(1), it is the sole example of a two-holed cross, as only the two upper holes are pierced right through, while but about 1 inch is left between the lower sinkings in the middle of the stone; (2), a unique ornament is seen in the boss,<sup>1</sup> just above the neck, on the north and south sides. I have never heard of another instance of this kind.

The monolith is 5 ft. 10 in. high; diameter of circle,  $18\frac{1}{2}$  in. In plan it is an irregular parallelogram, varying from  $14\frac{1}{2}$  in. to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  in. at the base. It is quite a feature of this stone that it is nearly square, as, with the exception of that already mentioned, in Sancreed churchyard, and the shaft at St. Neot, all the others are considerably thinner than wide.

The shaft, with a slight entasis, is sculptured on all four sides with debased, angular plaitwork, though some on the north side is rudely rounded. It is our worst example, and executed in the roughest manner, being little better than some deeply incised double lines: indeed, the bead at the angles is formed in this way by one line. The Crucifixion appears on the west front of the head, and five bosses on the east front. A double bead runs round the sides of the head, following the shape of the ring and arms of the cross.

Before proceeding to analyse the ornament on the sculptured crosses just described, it would be well, perhaps, to make one or two general remarks on interlaced work, and in doing so I do not think I can do better than quote a passage from Mr. J. Romilly Allen's valuable paper on the "Analysis of Celtic Interlaced Ornament", read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on 12th Feb. 1883. On pp. 225 and 226 he says: "A great deal of ingenuity has been wasted by several authors in speculating as to the probable origin of Celtic interlaced work, which would have been far better employed in studying the details of the ornament itself. The fact is that the idea of interlaced bands applied to decorative purposes may have been suggested in a variety of different ways, as, for example, by any twisted, plaited

<sup>1</sup> There are two bosses on each side of the cross at Tregulow, in the same position, and I have since found another example like Phillack at Merther-Uny (St. Wendron).

or woven fabric, or by braidwork patterns sewn upon garments. Mr. Anderson<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that this species of ornament is to be found upon the works of art of most periods and of most nations; the only difference between Celtic knotwork and that produced elsewhere being that in the former case it was made one of the leading features of this style of decoration, and was developed with an amount of ingenuity quite unparalleled, whereas in the latter case only the simpler kinds of interlaced patterns occur, and they generally occupy a very subordinate position in designs where more favoured forms predominate. The other authors who have dealt with the subject in the most rational manner are Professor Westwood<sup>2</sup> and the Rev. J. G. Cumming.<sup>3</sup>

We may mention that interlaced work is found in Grecian architecture, *e.g.*, in the capitals and bases of the Temple of Minerva Polias,<sup>4</sup> and in the capitals of the Temple of Erechtheus,<sup>5</sup> finished B.C. 409. It is a common form of ornament in Roman mosaic pavements; but in sculpture was carried to its highest and most beautiful state of perfection on the crosses of Ireland and Scotland in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

With reference to the paper just mentioned I must add that I have found it of the greatest possible assistance. Apart from many explanatory diagrams showing the method of setting out and developing the patterns, etc., it contains some two hundred and twenty examples of interlaced work, and nearly a hundred of key-patterns and spirals, which are all systematically arranged: the former from an elementary twist, to the most elaborate combinations; all being selected from existing examples, which are described, tabulated, and numbered; so that by reference to the corresponding number given in the lists we ascertain where each pattern occurs in Great Britain or Ireland; and it is from this paper that I have been enabled, in my analysis, to give the names of most of the places where like patterns occur to those found on the crosses of Cornwall.

<sup>1</sup> *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd Series, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Arch. Inst.*, vol. vii, p. 17, and vol. x, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 1886, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> *Chamber's Civil Architecture*, vol. i, Plates 6 and 7.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Architecture*, Fergusson, vol. i, p. 232.

We must not, however, leave the subject without some observations on the character and style of this Cornish work. It is well known that one of the factors in the evolution of art as applied to the ornamentation of these stones, is the adaptability of the material with which the primitive artists had to deal. In districts where the stone is easily manipulated, the work is found to be considerably superior to that in other places where the nature of the substance is less suitable ; thus corroborating the remark on p. 320 as to the manner in which our finest example at Lanherne is produced.

Taking, for instance, a wild and rugged granite county like Cornwall, as in the ornament of its crosses, so in its architectural detail, the work is indifferently designed and rudely executed, and, as I have already pointed out, most of the patterns are evidently debased copies of those beautiful forms of ornament, which, if they did not originate in Ireland, were at all events so highly developed there as to constitute a separate style of art.

Two of the most typically Celtic forms of ornament are found in Cornwall, viz., interlaced work and key-patterns; but of the true Irish divergent spiral there are no examples, as the scrollwork which occurs on some of the stones appears to be more in common with the foliage of Northumbria.

The best examples of really good work are : (1), with interlaced work,—on the cross at Lanherne, on the shaft in St. Neot's churchyard, and on the two stones in St. Cleer, near Redgate ; (2), with knotwork,—also on the Lanherne Cross and on the Four-Hole Cross on Temple Moor ; (3), with key-patterns,—on the Sancreed Churchyard Cross and the beautiful recumbent Saxon tomb in Lanivet churchyard, which, although not actually a cross, must not pass unnoticed ; and (4), with scrollwork,—on the crosses of Llanivet (west cross) and Lanhydrock churchyards. The worst or most debased examples of interlaced work are found on the crosses in the three churchyards of Lanhydrock, Lanivet (west cross), and Phillack, and at Prideaux Place, Padstow.

I have laid on the table this evening (with four exceptions) drawings of all the interlaced work on the crosses of Cornwall, as far as I have been able to gather, for there



is no information on the subject. The drawings were all measured and drawn to scale on the spot, and the ornament, in most cases, delineated from my rubbings photographed to scale.

The four exceptions are—(1), the lately erected shaft in Gulval churchyard, near Penzance; (2), the back of the Sancreed Vicarage gate cross; but bearing in mind how little work is left on the front, I doubt if any exists on the back, as the Vicar, who is much interested in this work, would not have fixed it as he has had there been any ornament remaining; (3), two sides of the magnificent shaft in St. Neot's churchyard, our finest example in granite. When I saw it, last autumn, it was lying on the ground, against the south wall of the church, so I was only able to take rubbings of two sides; but I am glad to state that since then it has been moved out into the churchyard, preparatory to being erected on St. Neot's Stone, opposite the south porch, and 30 ft. from it.<sup>1</sup> (4), one side of the stone at Trekeek Farm (Minster), near Camelford. This beautiful shaft still forms the pivot-stone of a thrashing machine; but I am glad to report that steps have been taken to restore<sup>1</sup> it to its original base, *in situ*, by the side of the road on Water Pit Down, about half a mile from the farm. It is very probable that the under-side of this stone, which has been hidden from view for over thirty years, may be inscribed.

I have appended to my paper a full analysis, with illustrations, of the different details of ornamentation found on the various Cornish crosses, side by side with similar specimens existing in other localities, which have been taken from the following works:—

*The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, by Dr. J. Stuart. Printed for the Spalding Club. 2 vols. Aberdeen, 1856-7.

*The Analysis of Celtic Ornament*, by J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot. Feb. 1883. (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vols. 17 and 19.)

*Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, by George Petrie, LL.D. (Annual vol. of Royal Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland. Dublin, 1872.)

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written, the projected restorations have in each case been carried out; the latter by and at the expense of Colonel S. A. Bake of Camelford, when, as conjectured, the stone was found to be inscribed.

*Lapidarium Walliæ*, by Prof. I. O. Westwood, M.A., F.L.S. Oxford, 1876-9.

*Ancient Sepulchral Monuments*, by Brindley and Weatherly. London, 1887.

*Manual of Sepulchral Slabs*, by Rev. E. L. Cutts, D.D. London, 1849.

If I should have succeeded in awakening any fresh interest in these ancient memorials, my task will not have been in vain ; and should my readers be able to suggest to me any further train of research connected with this interesting subject, I need scarcely say how gladly any suggestions will be received.

In conclusion, my best thanks are due to Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.Scot., for his kind and willing assistance, especially in the analysis, as well as for the use I have made of his valuable books ; also to Dr. S. G. Litteljohn of the Central London District Schools, Hanwell, W., who has very kindly photographed to scale several of my rubbings, thus enabling me to produce correct drawings of the ornament on the crosses, and so for the first time to give a really true picture of these exquisite monuments of antiquity, the beauty of which has been so nearly lost to us of the present generation.

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The following analysis of Celtic ornament includes all that is known to me on the stones I have seen. Should, however, any of my readers know of any other examples not contained in this analysis, I should feel obliged by their communicating with me, in order that from time to time the details on the newly discovered stones may be added to their respective subdivisions, thus preserving a record of them all.

## ANALYSIS OF CELTIC ORNAMENT IN CORNWALL.

Names of Places in Great Britain and Ireland where examples of the same pattern occur are in smaller type. The districts are taken in the following order throughout: 1, England; 2, Wales; 3, Scotland; 4, Isle of Man; and 5, Ireland; and the counties, except where necessary, are only inserted after the first mention of a place.

## INTERLACED WORK.

(1.) REGULAR PLAITS.<sup>1</sup>(a.) *With Four Cords.*

N.B. All examples to this Scale.

[The word *top* refers to the position of the pattern on the stone.]

Names of Places in Cornwall where each Pattern occurs.

St. Blazey.—Biscovey (north-east side).

St. Cleer.\*—On Doniert's Stone (north-east side).

St. Minver.—St. Michael, in churchyard (east side of shaft).

Aycliffe and Chester-le-Street, Durham; Gosforth, Cumberland; St. John's, Chester; Dinsdale-on-Tees (2), Yorkshire; Ilam, Staffordshire; Peterborough, Northampton.—England.

Carew and Nevern, Pembrokeshire; Llandough, Llantwit, and Margam, Glamorganshire; Maen Achwynfan, Flintshire; Penmon, Anglesey.—Wales.

Benvie and Farnell, Forfarshire; Jordan Hill and Govan, near Glasgow; Inchinnan, Renfrewshire; Mansfield, Ayrshire; Stanlie, near Paisley; Abercromby, Fifeshire; Bressay, Shetland.—Scotland.

Tuam, co. Galway; Durrow, King's Co.—Ireland.

(b.) *With Six Cords.*

St. Blazey.—Biscovey (south-east front).

St. Cleer.\*—On Doniert's Stone (south-west side).

<sup>1</sup> Where a termination of a pattern of the interlaced work exists, it is given to show the methods by which the cords can be joined up so as to leave no loose ends.

\* Places marked thus \* denote where the illustrated example exists.

Quethiock.—In churchyard (south front).

Aycliffe and Gainford, Durham; Brompton, Yorkshire; Fulbourn, Cambridge; Dinsdale-on-Tees (2), Yorkshire; Helpstom, Peterborough.

Coychurch and Margam, Glamorganshire; Llanbadarn Fawr, Radnorshire; Meifod, Montgomeryshire; Penally, Pembrokeshire; Penmon, Anglesey.

Aldbar, Forfarshire; St. Andrew's, Fifeshire.

(c.) *With Eight Cords.*



St. Neot.\*—In churchyard (west side), all three panels.

Copplestone Cross, Devon; Aycliffe, Gainford, and Lindisfarne, Durham.

Llandeilo Fawr, Brecknock; Nevern, Penmon.

Liberton, near Edinburgh; Rothesay, Bute; Docton, Fifeshire; Aldbar, Jordan Hill.

Clonmacnois, King's Co.

(2.) ANGULAR PLAITS.

(a.) *With Four Cords.*



Phillack.\*—In churchyard. On all four sides.

Castor and Longthorpe, Northamptonshire.

(b.) *Irregular, Angular Plaitwork.*

Quethiock.—In churchyard (south front).

(3.) BROKEN<sup>1</sup> PLAITWORK.

(a.) *With breaks made symmetrically.*

St. Blazey.—Biscovey (north-west front).

St. Cleer.—On "The Other Half-Stone."

St. Neot.—In churchyard; east side, top panel; and south side, top and middle panels.

<sup>1</sup> The term "broken plaitwork" implies that the pattern consists of joining up any two cords instead of carrying them forward, thus distinguishing them from the "ordinary regular plaits." One result of this method is the leaving of spaces in the work; but the term really applies to the "breaking" or "stopping off" of the cords at regular or irregular intervals.



(b.) *The same as foregoing, but with rings introduced.*

St. Neot.—In churchyard; east side, bottom panel.

*N.B.* Of course different varieties of this class occur in other districts; but the combinations being varied in almost every conceivable manner, it is extremely doubtful if a corresponding specimen of those examples in Cornwall can be found in other places, although the treatment may, in some cases, be considered somewhat similar.

(c.) *With breaks made symmetrically, and spaces left.*  
*With Four Cords.*



Lanhydrock.—In churchyard (west front).

Lanivet.—In churchyard; on west cross, west front.

St. Neot.\*—Four-hole cross on Temple Moor (north-east side).

*N.B.* Examples of this pattern in double rows are found in other districts, as well as a horizontal treatment of the knots; but the three specimens in Cornwall are all single, the only difference between them being that in those at Lanhydrock and Lanivet there is no space left between the knots, so that they are in reality a continuous band of figure-of-eight knots, unlike the cases where they appear separately.

Kirkby Moorside, Yorkshire; Nassington, Northumberland; Gainford, Lincoln.

Llanynnis, Brecon; Llanbadarn-Fawr, Llandough, Margam.

Cossins, Monifieth, St. Vigean's, and Kirriemuir, Forfarshire; Crieff, Perthshire; Rothesay, Govan, Meikle.

Durrow, King's Co.; Kilgispeen, Co. Kilkenny.

(d.) *With breaks made unsymmetrically, or irregular, broken*  
*Plaitwork.*

Padstow.—In churchyard (west side) (?)

St. Erth.—In churchyard (south front).

St. Just in Penwith.—In north wall of church (unfinished).

St. Neot.—In churchyard (north side, middle panel).

(e.) *The same as foregoing, but with a Ring.*

St. Neot.—In churchyard (south side, bottom panel).

*N.B.* There is a considerable difference in the workmanship of the patterns given under this head (d), which is worth noting; e.g., the work at St. Neot is extremely good, whereas that occurring on the other stones is extremely poor and debased; for the bands do not lap over and under each other regularly, and in some instances stop suddenly without being properly joined up.

*(f.) Irregular, broken plaitwork with spaces left.*

Cardynham.—In churchyard (south front).

Minster.—Water-Pit Down (east front).

Sancreed.—Vicarage gate cross (front).

*(4.) DEBASED FORMS OF PLAITWORK.*

Lanivet.<sup>1</sup>—In churchyard, west cross (on north side).

Padstow.\*—Prideaux Place (all four sides) (?).

*(5.) KNOTWORK.**(a.) Figure-of-Eight Knots.*

Cardynham.—In churchyard (east side of head).

Gulval (?).—In churchyard (west front), one end of figure broken.

Mawgan in Pyder.\*—Lanherne (south-west front).

Gainford.

Kirriemuir.

*(b.) Spiral Knotwork.*

Mawgan in Pyder.\*—Lanherne (south-east side).

St. Blazey.—Biscovey ; on north-west front of the inscribed stone a single panel of spiral knots in double row, terminating in a pair of Stafford knots.

Hickling, Notts.

Penally.

Abbotsford, Roxboroughshire ; Aberlemno, Forfarshire ; Arthurlee, Renfrewshire.

<sup>1</sup> There are *two* crosses in Lanivet churchyard, one on the west, and the other on the north side of the church, which for distinction will be called the west cross, or, the north cross.

*(c.) Stafford Knotwork.*

Mawgan in Pyder.\*—Lanherne (north-west side).

Minster.—Water-Pit Down (west front).

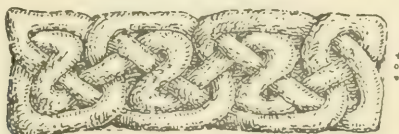
St. Blazey.—Biscovey; on north-west front of the inscribed stone a single panel of spiral knots in double row, terminating in a pair of Stafford knots.

Sancreed.—Vicarage Gate Cross (right side).

Aycliffe, Durham; Bexhill, Sussex.

The above last two named have the dragon's head also.

*N.B.* Examples of this pattern, without the serpentine band, and in double rows, are found in other districts, as at Jordan Hill, Kirriemuir, Jedborough, Seoonie, Inchbrayock, Scotland; Aycliffe, Billingham, Jarrow, Durham; and Llandough, Wales; but those occurring in Cornwall are all single, and have the serpentine band, except St. Blazey, as already explained.

*(d.) S-shaped Knotwork.*

St. Neot.\*—In churchyard (east side, middle panel).

*N.B.* The diagonal treatment of the middle band in this beautiful example is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, unique.

**(6.) RING-PATTERNS.***(a.) Twists and Rings.*

No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.

Cardynham (No. 3).\*—In churchyard (east side).

Gulval.—In churchyard (east front), like No. 2, but worked into an irregular pattern above.

Mawgan in Pyder\* (No. 1).—Lanherne (north-east front).

Minster.—Water-Pit Down (west front, bottom panel).

Padstow\* (No. 2).—In churchyard (east side).

Quethiock.—In churchyard (east side).

Hexham, Norham, and Warden, Northumberland; Aycliffe, Gainford, Hickling.

Llandeuaelog, Brecknockshire; Llantwit, Penally, Penmon.

Liberton, Edinburgh; Monreith House, Wigtonshire; Drainie, Elgin; Bressay, Inchinnan, Rothesay.

Kirk Michael.

(b.) *Plaits and Rings.*<sup>1</sup> *With Four Cords.*



St. Neot.\*—In churchyard (north side, top panel).

Copplestone Cross.

Wigtown and Monreith House, Wigtonshire.

(c.) *Chains of Rings.*



Cardynham.\*—In churchyard (west side).

Gosforth and Dearham, Cumberland.

Penmon.

Kirk Andreas, Kirk Christ's, Kirk Michael (2); Ballaugh Rushen and St. John's, Tynwald.

(d.) *Irregular Ring-Patterns. Twists and Rings.*

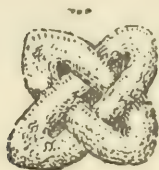
Gulval.—In churchyard (west side).

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<sup>1</sup> Formed by a four-cord plait with the crossings of the bands emphasised by a ring.



## (7.) KNOTS.

(a.) *Two Oval Rings interlaced Crosswise.*

Lanivet.—In churchyard, on Saxon coped stone.

Mawgan in Pyder.—Lanherne (south-east and north-west sides, on head.

Minster.—Water-Pit Down (east front).

Quethiock.—In churchyard, on lower limb of head.

St. Breage.—In churchyard (west side, on ring).<sup>1</sup>

St. Cleer.\*—On Doniert's Stone (two complete on north-west front).

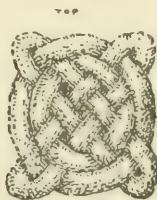
St. Columb Major.—In churchyard, on lower arm of head.

St. Teath.—In cemetery (north side, on arm).

Aycliffe and Billingham, Durham ; Dinsdale-on-Tees, Dearham.

Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire ; Corwen, Merionethshire ; Carew, Llandough, Llantwit, Margam, Meifod, Nevern.

Meigle, Perthshire ; Govan, Inchinnan.

(b.) *Two Oval Rings combined with two Concentric Circles, all interlaced.*

St. Just in Penrith.\*—In church (north wall).

St. Neot.—In churchyard (north side, bottom panel).

Jarrow, Northumberland.

Govan.

(c.) *Miscellaneous Knots.*

Cardynham.—In churchyard (south front).

*N.B.* This is a very curious knot, and quite unlike any others.

Being somewhat abraded, it is uncertain what it was originally intended for.

<sup>1</sup> The only instance in Cornwall where the connecting ring of the cross is ornamented.

*(d.) Triquetra Knots.**(Only occur on the Heads of the Cornish Crosses.)*

(I.) Pointed.



(II.) Rounded.

I

Lanivet.—On Saxon coped stone (double beaded).

Padstow (2).—Prideaux Place; in Dr. Marley's garden.

Quethiock.—In churchyard.

St. Breward.—At National Schools.

St. Neot.\*—"Four-Hole Cross."

Tintagel.—Trevena.

I AND II.

Lanivet.—In churchyard (West cross, east and west fronts).

St. Columb Major.\*—In churchyard.

St. Teath.—In cemetery.

I OR II.

St. John's, Chester; Warkworth and Warden, Northumberland.

Llanfrynach, Pembrokeshire; Llantwit, Maen Achwynfan, Margam, Laugharne, Carmarthenshire; Meifod and Penally.

Chapel of the Garioch; Dupplin Castle, Perthshire; Oronsay, Argyll; Meigle, Govan, St. Andrew's.

Douglas, Calf of Man; Kirk Michael.

Killamery, Co. Kilkenny; Clonmacnois, on six stones.

*N.B.* The above examples are not confined to the heads of the crosses, but occur as well on the shafts.

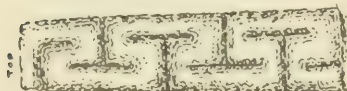
III.

Cardynham.\*—In churchyard (north front).<sup>1</sup>

Coychurch, Glamorganshire.

<sup>1</sup> Similar design on south front, but formed of a single bead only.

## KEY-PATTERNS.

(a.) *Square Key-Patterns.*

Camborne.—In church, altar-slab.

Pendarves. Ditto.

Cardynham.\*—In churchyard (west side).

Kirkby Wharfe, St. John's.

Llangaffo, Anglesey; Carew and Llanwnda, Pembrokeshire; Golden Grove.

Kilkerran, Argyleshire.

Clonmacnois (on Sechnasach's grave-slab, A.D. 931), King's Co.

(b.) *Diagonal Key-Patterns.*

## I.

Gulval.\*—In churchyard (north and south sides).

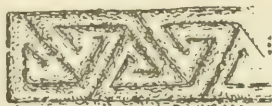
Cardynham.—In churchyard (west side of head).

Minster.—Water-Pit Down (north side).

Kirkby Wharfe.

Invergowrie, Perthshire; Kilkerran, Benzie, Liberton, St. Andrew's.

## II.



St. Erth.—In churchyard (west side).

Sancreed (2).—In churchyard\* (south side); Vicarage gate cross (right side).

Llantwit (but double).

Rosemarkie, Ross-shire; Draine, St. Andrew's.

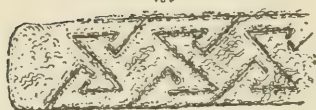
## III.



Lanivet.\*—In churchyard, on Saxon coped stone.

Penally.

## IV



Lanivet.\*—In churchyard, on Saxon coped stone.

Penally.

(c.) *Debased Key-Patterns.*

Lanivet.—In churchyard (north cross, east and west sides)

## SCROLLWORK.

There are no examples in Cornwall of the true Irish divergent spirals, but only specimens of foliated or apparently debased scrollwork of different varieties, one of which consists of flat kind of scrolls having the spandril filled with a short, pointed stem like the illustration below.

*Foliated Scrolls.*

## I.



Cardynham.—In churchyard (north front).

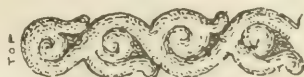
Minster.\*—Water-Pit Down (north side).

Another variety exists on the Water-Pit Down Cross. There is a serpentine band similar to Lanherne; but instead of the knots in the spandrils, an elongated, leaf-pattern is introduced, which gives a late impression of the work. Two examples very similar to this are found at Kilchousland, Cantire, and Kilkerran, Argyll. The latter is inscribed in thirteenth century letters.

Quethiock.—In churchyard (west side).

St. Teath.—In cemetery (south side).

## II.



Lanhydrock.—In churchyard (east front).

Lanivet.—In churchyard (west cross, west front and south side).

St. Neot.\*—"Four-Hole Cross" (south-west side).

The scrolls on these crosses look very like thirteenth century work.



*Double Scrolls.*

St. Teath.—In cemetery (north side).

*Cable-Moulding.*

The following stones are decorated with a cable-moulding on the angles,—the coped stone in Lanivet churchyard, the shaft in Gulval churchyard, and the cross at Trevena, Tintagel. It also occurs on the last named, on the end of the lower arms on each side, that on the others having been knocked off.

*Mutilated Ornament.*

Some of the Celtic ornament on the crosses is so much worn that it is almost impossible to trace the patterns with any amount of certainty, there only being sufficient indications or markings left to enable one to say to which of the three divisions they belong. I have, therefore, been unable to include them in the analysis, but give a list of them separately, as follows :

*(1.) Interlaced Work.*

Lanhydrock.—In churchyard (north side).

Padstew.—In churchyard (each front and west side).

Quethiock.—In churchyard (north front).

St. Erth.—In churchyard (east and north sides).

*(2.) Scrollwork.*

Lanhydrock.—In churchyard (south side).

Quethiock.—In churchyard (north front ?)



## SKETCH OF EARLY SCOTTISH HISTORY.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(Read at the Glasgow Congress, 31 Aug. 1888.)

CAMDEN, in his *Britannia*, prefaced his short but by no means superficial account of Scotland by a Greek quotation—*Ξένος ὢν ἀπραγμάτων ἔσθι* (being a stranger in the land, keep out of business matters). Criticism on national origins and history would probably be included in this remark. While bearing Camden's maxim in mind, I may still hope, as a stranger, for your indulgence in selecting a few points of early Scottish history which seem subjects of interest worthy of further investigation.

The remote in time, as in the background of a picture, has to be seen through clouds alternating with thick darkness; but the atmosphere brightens a little after Kenneth II had defeated the Picts in A.D. 843, and up to the death of Macbeth in 1057.

From the reign of Malcolm Canmore, the son of King Duncan, begins what may be called the middle distance of Scottish history, up to the period when Edward I of England interfered in the affairs of Scotland, after the death of Alexander III, including the reign of the national favourite, Robert Bruce, up to the battle of Bannockburn in 1314,—a period of two hundred and fifty-seven years; and beyond this my remarks will not extend.

To revert then to the remote. Some distant rays of light illumine the country when the ancient Romans occupied it. They have left an account of their progress in subduing the native tribes, the *Caledonii* of the woody hill-country, and the *Mæatæ* of the plains, who had fortified every height, and by means of the rivers and lakes poured down in their curracks or coracles<sup>1</sup> when Agricola set out on his northern campaigns. His line of march is differently interpreted by modern writers in their scrutiny of the excellent account by Tacitus, son-in-law of the

<sup>1</sup> Lucan, iv; J. Caesar, *B. G.*, lib. iii.

Roman general; and I wish to call your attention to the configuration of Scotland as it was understood by Ptolemy the geographer, and presumably also by his predecessors, because it bears somewhat upon the subject.

Our late Treasurer, Mr. Gordon M. Hills, has simplified the right understanding of Ptolemy's scheme of geography in Scotland, in reference to the south of our island, by taking the meridian of London as a basis of longitude, and by identifying the *Novantum Promontorium* as Cantire instead of the Mull of Galloway, where Camden had fixed it, in opposition to writers before his time. Several apparent inconsistencies of Ptolemy are thus rectified.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills says "the meridian of London, according to Ptolemy, is  $20^{\circ}$ " (*i.e.*, east of the *Fortunate Insulæ*). "Northward from London it falls exactly on York, whose meridian is  $20^{\circ}$ ; and still further north, on Catterick, which is also  $20^{\circ}$ . The meridian then passes through Ayrshire, and across the sea, over Arran, to the outer shore of Cantire, opposite the island of Gigha. The country which remarkably answers to Ptolemy's particulars is Ayrshire, on the mainland, and the peninsula of Cantire beyond it. We have here a coast with the river Ayr for the *Abravannus*; the bay at Irvine for the *Rerigonian Bay*; the Bay of *Vindogara*, behind Great Cumbray Island, opposite Bute; and further on, the estuary which leads up to the Clyde."

Turning to a map<sup>1</sup> as laid down on the parallels of Ptolemy, we shall see that his Scotland only runs north as far as the *Novantum Promontorium*, that is, the Mull of Cantire, which he makes the most northerly point of the western coast. From thence he describes a north coast extending in an easterly direction as far as *Tarredrum Promontorium*, also called *Oreas*, which seems to be Duncansby Head. Thence southward he carries the eastern coast.

The short space intervening between the Forth and the Clyde, where the Wall of Antoninus, or Grimm's Dyke, was afterwards built, would thus, to speak broadly, run rather north and south instead of east and west, as

<sup>1</sup> Edition by Gerard Mercator, after Montanus and Heinsius, with maps. Frankfort, 1605. Folio.

it really does, and so shut off the enemy, as it were, in another island.<sup>1</sup>

This will explain how Agricola, in sending his fleet from Solway Firth round the Mull of Galloway into the Clyde, where they would be in correspondence with the galleys on the Forth, considered he had proved that Britain was an island. It has always been a puzzle to know how his fleet could have been able to sail round Scotland in the stormy seas and currents of the western and northern coasts. This could not easily have been done by the Roman galleys, which were only a match for either the natives or the elements on inland seas, lakes, and rivers. This strengthens the opinion clearly expressed by Dr. Collingwood Bruce at the Congress, that the northern Wall of Antoninus was simply a defence, and not built for the purpose of carrying out aggressive warfare, as was that of the more southerly Wall of Hadrian. Agricola undertook his command in A.D. 78, and in 80 proceeded up the western coast, encamping over against *Uxellum*, the chief town of the *Selgovæ*, who inhabited Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale, in Dumfriesshire, with Galloway, the Novantes being situated to the north of them. The names of twenty-one tribes are handed down to us who occupied the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and Scotland, up to the far north.

This same year Agricola seems to have sent detachments as far as the Firth of Forth northward, and in the following year<sup>2</sup> was fully occupied in planting his camps and forts through the territories of the *Selgovæ*; and so successful was he in the choice of his positions, that his biographer says his forts were never either captured by the enemy, nor was he ever driven to abandon them.

In the year 82 we find him looking towards Ireland, which was only distant twenty-one miles from this coast. In 83 he was again strengthening the fortresses among the *Selgovæ* and along the valley of the Clyde, spreading terror among the inhabitants, who saw a land-army co-operating with the marines who filled the galleys

<sup>1</sup> "Summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus." (Tac., *Agric.*, c. 23.)

<sup>2</sup> "Saluberrimis consiliis." (*Ibid.*, c. 21.)



and communicated with the fleet in the Forth. In the summer of 84 Agricola passed into Fifeshire, hearing that the natives were being massed together for an attack. He passed through a defile of the Ochill Hills, and found himself with a large army at the foot of the Grampians, where the Caledonian hero, Galgacus, had stationed himself at the head of 30,000 men. An engagement was soon brought on, and the battle has been graphically described by Tacitus, and amply commented on by modern writers. The natives defended themselves well with their shields and enormous swords; but the Romans gained a complete victory, and Scotland lay at their feet. About 10,000 of the natives were slain on the field, and the Romans lost 360 men, including Aulus Atticus, a promising young officer.

The army retired into the country of the *Horrestii*, who dwelt in Clackmannan, Kinross, and Fife, with the eastern part of Strathern and the country west of the Tay, taking hostages as security for keeping the peace. Agricola then caused the fleet, under its prefect, to circumnavigate Britain; by which I understand that the galleys sailed up the Firth and river of Forth, and then communicated with those on the Clyde; or perhaps the galleys may even have been drawn overland between the two rivers, and from the Clyde they sailed round the Mull of Galloway and into the Solway Firth<sup>1</sup> (*Ituna Estuarium*), whence they had set out. It has been thought that the name *Selygoræ* is preserved in the modern word Solway.

Half a century later Lollius Urbicus, under the Emperor Antoninus Pius, had to proceed northward, and in Scotland it was found necessary to raise a continuous wall of earth, or rampart, to connect together the forts of Agricola between the Forth and Clyde, portions of which work were walked over at the Congress. The military road, which ran parallel to the Dyke, was still to be seen, as we were told by Dr. Collingwood Bruce, within the last two generations.

Again rebellious, the northerners had to be checked by the Emperor Severus, who came over from Rome in per-

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus says "Portus Trutulensis" (*Agr.*, c. 38), a name unknown to us, unless it be a corrupt reading for "Ituncensis."

son, and died at York in A.D. 211. A hundred and fifty-seven years later the General Theodosius had to repeat the process of pacification.

The camps of the various Roman generals cannot now be distinguished from each other. Some would have been occupied by all of them in succession; others would have been thrown up as the circumstances of the time might dictate. A fruitful field is here open for discussion.

When old Roman history ceases we are introduced, through the mists on the hills, to the Picts and Scots; but the darkness is rendered even more obscure by the efforts of writers holding various opinions to accommodate the distant objects to their own vision, and reconcile, each in his own way, incongruities and blanks in the accounts handed down; for before the days of the Venerable Bede and of Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba, and Eddius of St. Wilfrid, contemporary evidence is almost wanting, except in so far as sculptured crosses and inscriptions may to some extent guide us; for the poetic legends, without date or collateral evidence to support them, cannot be accepted as history, though we must certainly not undervalue the legends preserved in the Celtic language, which Dr. Skene has edited and criticised.

Chalmers<sup>1</sup> considers there is nothing to show that the Picts and Scots were different nations. They are classed together as "*Caledones alique Picti*" by Eumenius in his eulogium on the Emperor Constantine. The name of "*Scoti*" occurs in Claudian in the fourth century, but rather as a poetic term derived from the Scyths, a people beyond the bounds of the civilised world. The "*Picti*" are mentioned by him in the same sense,—the name probably revived from Julius Cæsar's painted Britons. Claudian is speaking of Theodosius, grandfather of Honorius, when he says—

"Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis  
Terribilis Mauro debellatorque Britanni  
Littoris .....

..... maduerunt Saxone fuso  
Orcades; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule

Scotorum Cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Caledonia*, by Geo. Chalmers, F.R.S., F.S.A.

<sup>2</sup> Claudian, *De IV Cons. Honorii*, v. 26, 28, 29, 31, 33.

And again :

.....“ferroque notatas  
Perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras.”

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the time of Julian, says the Picts were divided into two nations,—“Picti in duas gentes divisi Dicaledones et Vecturiones.”

I had occasion, in an article on East Anglian history, in *Journal*, vol. xxxvi, p. 185, to express an opinion on the mode adopted by the chroniclers of grouping our population together under selected epithets; not so much by any real national origin as by the combinations—social, political, and religious—of the time when Bede wrote, exemplified in his narrative, wherein he parcels out England between Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. By these terms, and for the reasons I gave, the three parties were indicated who seemed at the time he wrote to be in possession of the country; and I am inclined to think that the kingdom of Scotland, when the old Roman rule had ended, was found occupied in the same manner, and treated by historians in the same way. Thus, as the Angli, who were the adherents of New Rome, gave their name to Engla-land, or England, and the Franci to France, so the same party in Scotland were represented by the Scoti, who also transferred their name to the whole country when uniformity in religion had been established. Thus, if this speculation is correct, we see how Christianity has given us our nationalities, and founded our civilisation.

The Picts were those outside the pale in the Lowland districts and round the coast, where they were subjected to influence and intercourse from Norway, a country in which movements were always going on among the numerous chiefs and their clans.

It is probable that intercourse with, and even settlements in, Scotland had been carried on by Norwegians before that exact date of A.D. 787, when the eastern pirates are said to have been first seen in our isle. In any case the name of Picts was given to the heathen and heterodox Lowlanders, and the name may only have been adopted from the verses of Claudian before referred to. The name was dropped in 843, that is, when the uniformity of New Rome had been established, and we hear

of Picts no more; but as Christianity was largely preached by the missionaries from Ireland, the name of Scots was given to the converts on both sides of the Irish Channel from Port Patrick to Donoughdee. The name of Britons was retained for the Celtic or Gaelic speaking population of Wales and Scotland, who seem to have adhered to some of the early forms of Christianity.

We derive our first connected history of Scotland from Fordun, a priest of the diocese of St. Andrew's, and chaplain of the Church of Aberdeen, who wrote in the fourteenth century. He makes Fergus, the son of Erth, to have ruled over the Scots in A.D. 403, and gives lists of kings of the Scots and Picts up to the time of Alpinus, a name suggestive of a mountaineer or highlander, son of Achaius. He was killed fighting against the Picts, and his son, Kenneth II, succeeding to the crown in 834, was enabled completely to subdue the Picts in 843, who, according to this account, lost at that time not only their nationality, but also their name and their language. Kenneth II then reigned from the Tyne to the Orkneys.

Lists of semi-mythical sovereigns of Picts and Scots have been made out much in the same way as Saxo Grammaticus constructed his lines of the early kings of Denmark, by stringing together a number of names of chieftains and their histories, often contemporaneous, and placing them as successive kings of the whole country, in this way creating a spurious chronology carried back centuries before the Christian era. The history of Norway presents a similar difficulty, through the country being parcelled out among many independent chieftains until Harold Hairfagr first had his hair cut in 890; which means that he adopted Christianity and civilisation by being cropped short, according to the fashion of the Romans; and he was then able by degrees to unite the country under one government, though the disagreement of his numerous sons put back for many years the work which their father had begun.

As to the progress of Christianity in Scotland, it seems to have advanced from the west through Ireland, and also by the eastern line of coast through the vast kingdom of Northumbria, which before being divided or curtailed extended from the Humber and Ribble rivers on the south to the Forth and Clyde on the north.



We must be content, before the reign of Kenneth in Scotland, to accept the lives of isolated workers in the propagation of the faith, such as Columba, whose life was written by Adamnanus, a monk of Icolmkill, who became its Abbot in 679; and the lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, to whom reference will be made further on. It may be mentioned in passing that there is a statement by Prosper of Aquitaine, that one Palladius was sent out from Rome by Pope Celestine to preach to the Scots in the fifth century, and at about the same time St. Regulus, a Greek of Achaia, had landed for the same purpose at St. Andrew's, carrying with him relics of the apostle.

Northumbrian history must be read in connection with the march of affairs in Scotland. Edwin was the first King of Deira, between the Humber and the Tees, who became a Christian, through Ethelburga his wife; and from him the city of Edinburgh is thought by some to have derived its name. He had succeeded Æthelfrith, a furious heathen, who in combination with Cadwallon of Wales, determined upon defeating the Christian monarch, and succeeded in doing this at Hatfield Chase in 633, when King Edwin, his enemy, was slain, and Eanfrid and Osric, both heathens, took possession of Bernicia and Deira.

At the death of Oswald, in 642, he was succeeded by his brother Oswy, who was a zealous Christian, and fought successfully against the Picts; and in furtherance of his design of consolidating an empire, killed Oswin his fellow-sovereign in Deira, and arranged a marriage of his daughter, Alchflæda, to Peada of Mercia, son of Penda, the formidable antagonist of the Christian religion. The condition of this marriage was that Peada should become a Christian, and that Penda's daughter, Cyneburga, should marry Alfred, the son of Oswy. Egfrith, a younger son of Oswy, succeeded to the whole of Northumbria, and showed himself a most energetic soldier, invading Ireland in 684, and then crossing over to Galloway was killed at Drummechtan. This is probably the Dunnichen of the present day, or the mountain of Nechan in the middle of Angus, ten miles north of the Firth of Tay, and twelve from the German Ocean.

Alfred, the elder brother of Egfrith, succeeded to the

crown,—a man renowned for his learning and good sense. Bede says he had spent part of his life in the islands of the Scots, to study the literature, and he calls him “*vir undecumque doctissimus*”.<sup>1</sup> He was educated by Wilfrid, who was rewarded by him with a bishopric. This King Alfred placed himself in communication with the first men of the day, such as Adamnan and Arculphus, men who had travelled through Greece, Syria, and Egypt; and he was not unknown to the learned Aldhelm of Sherborne; but his resistance to the plans of Bishop Wilfrid as to church organisation was the probable cause of his downfall.

After the short reign of Eadwolf, Osred, the son of Alfred, was established in Northumbria in 705. Ceolwulf, who succeeded in 731, was the King to whom Bede dedicated his *Ecclesiastical History*; but he left his kingdom to retire into a monastery, as so many other Anglo-Saxon kings did in this eighth century; and affairs in Northumbria became very unsettled up to the time when Egbert, King of Wessex, adopted the same policy of amalgamation as his friend Charlemagne, Emperor of the Franks. After causing East Anglia and Mercia to submit to his rule, he marched beyond the Humber into Northumbria, and compelled Eanred to acknowledge his sovereignty in 827. This marks an epoch when Christianity had taken a firm hold in the various kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy, and about the time when King Kenneth had annihilated the Picts, that is heathenism.

Before making reference to the Danish invasions I will venture to digress a little upon the lives of two holy men mentioned before, and intimately connected with the early days of this city of Glasgow, they are St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, who were among the pioneers of the Christian preachers, and theirs will serve as types of other workers in the same cause. The written lives of these early saints, however, being intended rather to show the efficacy of faith in doing what without it could never have been accomplished, are so overladen with miracles to prove this, that we are predisposed to place less confidence in the recital than the histories themselves deserve, for there must be truth underlying the

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, lib. v, c. 12.

flowery legends,—indeed, there are few legends which have not some foundation of fact. In any case these two lives bear the impress of the time when they were written, that is in the twelfth century, and even as such are of importance. The one of St. Ninian, written by St. Ailred, who began life at the court of King David of Scotland, and belonged to a family who owned the church of Hexham. Cumberland and Northumberland belonged to Scotland at that time, and he, therefore, was a Scottish subject when he became a Cistercian at Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, under Abbot William, the friend and correspondent of St. Bernard, and in 1143 was made Abbot of Rievaulx. The other, a life of St. Kentigern, was written by Joceline, a monk of Furness Abbey.

The journey of St. Ninian to Rome, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius, is interesting; and his return through Gaul, where he visited St. Martin at Tours, may be taken as one instance of the religious connection between Rome and Gaul at this period. Trèves was the capital of the West. It had long been the seat of the Præfect of the Gauls; it was the centre of occidental civilisation; there was a great library connected with the imperial palace, and education was carefully attended to. St. Martin, the pioneer of monasticism in the Western Empire, had “*animus circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus*”. The monasteries in the south of Gaul became the schools of Christian philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

Ninian founded the church “*Candida Casa*” at Whit-herne in Galloway, when this part of Scotland formed part of the Roman province, and successfully undertook the evangelisation of the Southern Picts. He dedicated the church to his friend St. Martin, who, according to the best authority, died in 397.

The date of St. Kentigern is nearly two centuries later than St. Ninian. The author of the second life professes to have derived it from native sources; but he did not like, as he says, the barbaric compound, and cooked it up again with Roman sauce.

An interesting instance of the frequent communication

<sup>1</sup> For these and many other particulars I am indebted to the “*Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern*” in *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v, edited by Alexander Penrose Forbes, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin.

with Rome, in the eighth century, is that of Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, in a dedication by him of a Latin Bible sent as a gift to Pope Gregory II shortly before his death in 716. This Bible, with the dedication, still exists, and is known as the *Codex Amiatinus*. A fac-simile of one page of the *Codex* and one of the dedication has lately been published by the Palæographical Society in Plates Nos. 65 and 66 of their Second Series.

The birth of St. Kentigern partook somewhat of the marvellous or paradoxical. His mother, Taneu, driven over the sea, was sheltered when shipwrecked, and being besides in an interesting condition, by St. Servanus, who had been a pupil of St. Palladius, and kept a school for boys at Culross, where an annual procession is recorded as taking place in honour of St. Serf, or Servanus, on the 1st of July. A child was born, and named Kentigern. The lad grew, and was educated by Servanus with his other pupils, and soon showed wonderful superiority in temporal as well as spiritual learning among his school-fellows, and acquired a name for the miracles wrought by his faith and by his prayers. His gentle nature was shown in the pains he took to tame a robin-redbreast, which would come at his call, and perch upon his hand ; but the rude boys, by their rough handling, killed the poor bird, and the Saint had to perform the miracle of bringing it to life. He preached to the wild tribes among whom he lived the study of the works of God, by which they might be brought to imitate in their own lives the forethought and industry of the bee and the ant, and the docility of the little robin.

Another story is told of the Saint accidentally letting out the fire which he had been appointed to watch, against early prayers on dark mornings. He procured the twig of a tree, and it caught fire by a spark from heaven ; by which, instead of censure, the act brought him increased veneration.

A fish and ring were the instruments of another marvellous adventure in which a lady was concerned. She was Queen Langueth, and lost her wedding-ring, which made her husband furious, and so aroused his suspicions as to her fidelity that she was cast into prison. St. Kentigern, however, sent a messenger to fish in the river, who



caught a salmon. In the body of this fish (ripped up in presence of the Saint) was found the wedding-ring, thus proving the innocence of the lady, and appeasing the wrath of the King.

Some apology is needed for repeating here these oft-told tales ; but they were firmly planted in the minds of the people, as can be seen in the *Inquisitio Davidis* of the year 1120, which is the first authority for the early history of the see of Glasgow, and they have been perpetuated on the seals of the Bishops, and in the heraldic arms of the city ; in which, however, the twig has grown into a tree, and the robin-redbreast is as large as a jackdaw or a raven. The fish and ring are constant, and the hand-bell of the early missionaries is not forgotten.

St. Kentigern was consecrated a pontiff at the hands of a single bishop from Ireland, after the British and Scottish custom, though the ecclesiastical canons only authorise such a consecration by three bishops at the least. Some curious particulars are given of his vestments. He wore the roughest hair-cloth next his skin ; then a tunic made up of goat-skins, with a hood drawn together after the manner of a fishing-net, a white alb, and always a stole over his shoulders. The pastoral staff was not rounded, gilt, and jewelled, as used in the present day (twelfth century), but of ordinary wood, and simply recurved. He held in his hand a book, a manual, always ready for the exercise of his ministry, as occasion might require.

The sons of Belial conspired to ruin him, with the knowledge of a King named Morken ; he therefore left Glasgow, and proceeded to find out St. David at Menevia in South Wales. After seeing him he sought out for himself a place in which to found a monastery. He fixed upon Llanelwyn, called afterwards St. Asaph's, from the name of a young student there who rose afterwards to be a bishop and abbot.

Britain, beset on many sides by enemies, often found her Christianity obscured, if not destroyed, and on many occasions various rites were introduced contrary to the form of the Church and the decrees of the Fathers ; Kentigern therefore went seven times to Rome, that he might from the fountain-head learn the truth at the

mouth of Gregory himself, and the mode to be adopted for correcting errors.

King Rederech, who is considered to have been a King of the Alclyde country, and dwelling at Alclyde, or Dumbarton, was a converted Christian. He, finding that religion in his country was going from bad to worse, sent to Kentigern, and recommended him to go back to his old residence and his flock at Glasgow. Kentigern, therefore, placed St. Asaph over the community at Llanelwyn, and proceeded out of the north gate of the church to travel to Scotland. He here took leave of his friend, and out of honour to his memory the said gate was only to be opened once a year, on St. Asaph's Day, which is the 1st of May.

Before proceeding to Albania he sent preachers to the Orkneys and Norway to preach the Gospel of Christ. Joceline says he came to Cathures (now called Glasghu), and took up his abode near a cemetery formerly consecrated by St. Ninian, where six hundred and sixty-five early worshippers were said to repose. The name of the little stream which flowed by the infant colony of Glasghu is written Mellingdenor or Mellingdevor by Joceline, probably corrupted from the Latin word for a mill-stream, according to the conjecture of Mr. MacGeorge.<sup>1</sup> Many of the provincials had not yet been washed in the font of baptism, many others were tainted with the contagion of multiform heresies, and all stood in need of the counsels of a good shepherd and ruler.

Out of the marvels in the life of St. Kentigern, one is an instance of the allegorical sense in which many of them are to be understood. St. Mungo yoked together two animals of very different natures, a stag and a wolf, and harnessed them to a plough, with which he attempted to cultivate the sand on the sea-shore; and, wonderful to relate, he obtained from so unpromising a soil a fine crop of corn. It can only be supposed that the stag represents the wild Highlander, and the wolf the Pict or Saxon, and that by taming and employing both he had obtained an excellent harvest from the good seed of the faith which he had sown in the barren sand.

An account is given of St. Columba visiting St. Kenti-

<sup>1</sup> *Old Glasgow*, by Andrew MacGeorge. Glasgow, 1880.

gern with a great following of his disciples and others, who desired to behold the face of so great a man.

At his death, in about A.D. 603, the body of St. Kentigern was buried in the crypt of his church, and there is an account of his bell in the Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow (ii, p. 334). Much respect was paid to his relics by King Edward I of England. (See *Compotus Gardarobe*, 29th year, on 20 and 21 Aug. and 3rd Sept.)

Dedications of churches to the memory of St. Kentigern are very numerous throughout Scotland, and there are eight so dedicated in Cumberland,<sup>1</sup> enumerated by Bishop Forbes in his general introduction to the Life in vol. v of the *Historians of Scotland*.

<sup>1</sup> "Cumbria" and "Cumbri" were not applied to any part of the territories and people of Britain by any writers before the eleventh century, that is, Ethelwerd, who wrote 975-1011. To Bede these terms were quite unknown. He calls the people "Britones" generally. Gildas knows nothing of these terms, any more than Nennius or Adamnanus. (See Notes of Bishop Forbes.)

(To be continued.)

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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20 NOVEMBER 1889.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following were duly elected Associates :

- Rev. George M. Claris, M.A., 6 Pembridge Villas, Southfields,  
Wandsworth
- Cecil G. Savile Foljambe, M.P.
- Miss Rosaline Oliver, Summer Hill, Heacham, King's Lynn
- Rev. James Curdie Russell, D.D., Bonnyside, Dunfillan, Dunoon,  
N.B.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

- To the Society of Antiquaries*, for "Proceedings," No. III, vol. xii, 2nd Series ; "Archæologia," vol. li, Part II, 1889.
- To the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, for "Proceedings for the Year 1888," vol. xxxiv.
- To the Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A.*, for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Parts 43 and 44. 1889.
- To the Cambrian Archæological Association*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Nos. 23 and 24. 1889.
- To the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland*, for "Journal," Nos. 78 and 79. 1889.
- To the Royal Archæological Institute*, for "Journal," Nos. 182 and 183. 1889.
- To the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, for "Transactions," vol. xxix. Parts 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11. 1889.
- To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, for "Transactions," vol. xiii, Part 2, 1888-9; and "Analysis of Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire," 1889.
- To the Hemenway South-Western Archæological Expedition, Salem, Mass., U.S.A.*, for "The Old New World," by Silvester Baxter. 1888.
- To the Davenport Academy of Nat. Sciences, Davenport, Iowa, U.S.A.*, for "Proceedings," vol. v, Part I. 1884-9.



*To the Pomys-Land Club*, for "Collections Historical and Archæological," vol. xxiii, Parts 2 and 3. 1889.

*To the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Arch. Society*, for "Transactions," vol. x, 1889; and "Description of the County of Cumberland," by Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, A.D. 1671. 1889.

*To Rev. Dr. Belcher, Rector of the High School, Otago, New Zealand*, for "Livy," Book II.

*To the Smithsonian Institution*, for "Annual Report of the Board of Regents for the Year ending June 1886." Part I.

*To C. R. Smith, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.*, for "Biographie de M. Lecointre-Dupont, par J. L. de la Marsonnière." Poitiers, 1889.

*To A. E. Cokayne, Esq.*, for "Haldon Hall, Derbyshire." Bakewell, 1889.

*To G. R. Wright, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.*, for "A Brief Memoir of J. O. Halliwell-Phillips." London, 1889.

*To the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, for "Journal," vol. xi. 1889.

*To the Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, for "Mémoires," tome xxi. 1888-89.

*To A. Oliver, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.*, for "Reprint of the Rubbing of Roger Thornton, All Saints' Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne." Date, 1429.

*To the Author*, for "The Church Plate of the County of Dorset." By J. E. Nightingale, Esq., F.S.A. Salisbury, 1889.

The Hon. Secretaries announced that the resolution of the Council relative to the preservation of the ancient Butter Market, Dartmouth, passed at a special meeting after the close of last session, had been duly presented to the local authorities. Thanks to the efforts of the Association, and also of other antiquarian societies, the local intention of removing the buildings had been abandoned.

It was also stated that some of the domestic buildings of Eggleston Abbey had recently been demolished by the proprietor. Other portions of these curious remains were in danger of removal; but thanks to the efforts of Mr. J. P. Prichett, Local Member of Council, their demolition was stayed for the present. A remonstrance had been agreed to by the Council, pointing out to the owner the importance of preserving the remains.

Mr. J. T. Irvine reported

#### DISCOVERIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CROWLAND.

"Since last session there are but few finds in this district for me to report to the Association. Mr. A. S. Canham, of Crowland, gives information of a further very recent discovery of specimens of the singular wedge-shaped bricks found in this neighbourhood. The find took

place during the ploughing over of a field close to the farmhouse of 'Single Sole'. This farm lies in the very extreme north-east point of Northamptonshire, and between Thorney and Crowland. It anciently belonged to Peterborough Monastery, and there was a chapel there.

"Besides the fragments of these wedges, a small sandstone sharpener and black Castor ware were found. There were also fragments with a positively square head found. The first find was in the ditch which surrounded the tump or artificial mound on which the Cell of St. Guthlac stood, near Crowland. There also square tops came to light. The second was in an ancient ditch which at other points produced Samian and Castor ware, and which underwent removal in excavating the brick-clay in the Woodstone brickyard to the west of the London Road. The third was the discovery of between one hundred and two hundred fragments, also in an ancient ditch which passes below the north transept of Peterborough Cathedral, and most likely was the north boundary of the monastery first erected on this site.

"Among the large number found inside the Cathedral no square top came to light, nor any fragment diminishing to both ends. With them there lay fragments of Castor ware, black and red, but only one fragment of Samian pottery. A sketch of two fragments of the last found is sent for exhibition.

"The other discovery is derived from T. J. Walker, Esq., M.D., the finding of another of the well-known Roman stone water-basins. Of these, two have been already reported; but the fragment in Mr. Walker's possession had been part of a larger and finer specimen, and far more elegant than the others. Like most Roman columns, this had been turned, and the material is not the Barnack stone they so often use hereabout. A sketch is forwarded for exhibition.

"The type here entirely differs from that of the flat slab generally ornamented with sunk work round three edges, and having an uncommonly shallow sinking on the top so often found in the south-west of England, as at Tockington and Cirencester in Gloucestershire, at Bath, and at a farm to the south of Warminster."

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a curious stone mortar which was found about sixty years ago in excavating an ancient tumulus which still exists at Leofield, co. Oxon. It was filled with Roman coins, specimens of which were shown. They range from Domitian to Constans. The tumulus, which is elliptical in form, is 120 yards wide at the base, and 50 yards by 12 yards at the summit, which is truncated; the aperture made by the excavation, in which the mortar was found, being still apparent. The mortar is broken, probably by use, and was found mended with lead.

Mr. Way also exhibited a rubbing from a curious oak panel of black oak, now in the possession of the Rev. S. Pole of Rackenford, Devon. It represents a hunter and dog, with a stag pierced by arrows.

Mr. R. Peter sent a drawing of a curious chest or treasure-box, the property of Mr. Nicholls, Penfound Marks, the Downs, Poundstock, North Cornwall. The chest is in good condition. It is incised with lines, and with an inscription in letters which appear to be of a date late in the close of the seventeenth century.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, *Hon. Sec.*, F.S.A., exhibited some fragments of fifteenth century manuscript service-books which had been used by bookbinders of the sixteenth century. Two fragments had been used to form the covers of an edition of Sallust printed at Bale in the middle of the sixteenth century; another being from an Italian book printed at Venice in 1553; while a third was from Greenway's translation of Tacitus, London, 1595.

Mr. Andrew Oliver exhibited a rubbing of the beautiful Flemish brass at All Saints' Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and read explanatory notes.

Mr. C. Lynam, Local Member of Council, described a collection of sketches of ancient buildings visited during the Lincoln Congress. He also produced a plan of the Roman fortified post which has recently been brought to notice, in the valley of the Blythe, four miles from Stoke-on-Trent. It consists of a central parallelogram, 155 ft. by 150 ft., enclosed by double ditches, both of which have been dug out of the level plateau. A third ditch extends along one of the sides.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited some capital rubbings of brasses in illustration of his paper.

The first paper was then read by Mr. Compton, on "North Creak, Norfolk", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

A paper was then read by Mr. Thomas Morgan, *Hon. Treasurer*, F.S.A., "The Rose of Provence and Lilies of France, or a Vision of Lincoln", which it is hoped will also be printed hereafter.

#### WEDNESDAY, 4TH DECEMBER.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., *HON. SEC.*, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were unanimously elected :

Albert Addison, J.P., Portsmouth

Alfred Stirling Blake, J.P., Portsmouth

Andrew Oliver, 7 Bedford Row, W.C.

Robert Percy Walker, 108 Tettenhall Road, Wolverhampton

Edwin Walter L. Willes, Glenelg Road, Gosport

W. Payne, Portsmouth, elected a Local Member for Hampshire.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society of Antiquaries*, for "Archæologia," vol. 50, Pt. II.

*To the Royal Institute of British Architects*, for "Transactions," vol. v, New Series.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read Dr. Alfred C. Fryer's communication on the

#### COMPOSITION OF A MORTAR OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

"In March 1888 a *Mithreum* was discovered accidentally at Ober-Florstadt. It was in form of rectangle, and the interior depression was approached by four steps on the southern side. The altars, coins, and figures were removed to the Museum at Darmstadt. Professor Adamy made careful examination of the place, and came to the conclusion that the building was a temple dedicated to Mithras, and was built about the middle of the third century.

"A small piece of the mortar was sent to me, and on submitting it to a chemical analysis it gives the following results :

			Per Cent.
"Sand, insoluble in hydrochloric acid	...	...	74.92
Carbonate of lime	...	...	5.09
Alumina and oxide of iron	...	...	8.61
Carbonate of magnesia	...	...	1.02
Sulphate of lime	...	...	0.52
Lime otherwise combined	...	...	1.50
Soluble silica	...	...	0.84
Moisture and chemically combined water	...	...	7.20
Chlorine	...	...	trace.

"In judging of a mortar, the relation of lime to sand is of importance. This relation varies according to the quality of the sand, for fine sand required less lime than coarse. In the mortar under examination the sand was unusually coarse, and larger pieces of quartz could easily be recognised. It has been estimated that a good lime-mortar should contain 15 per cent. of slaked lime in the dried mass. The amount of hydrated lime in the above is only a little over 7 per cent.

"The above remarks show that this ancient Roman mortar had very inferior properties. This is confirmed by the fact that it easily crumbles away. The percentage of alumina and ferric oxide appears to be high, but the quantity of magnesia is small."

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following letter :—

"Town Clerk's Office, Lincoln.  
5th Nov. 1889.

"Major George Lambert, Coventry Street, London, W.

"Dear Sir,—On the other side I send you copy of Resolution adopted at a meeting of the Finance Committee of the Corporation of this city held on the 4th instant.

"Yours truly,

J. T. TWEED, Town Clerk.



"Major George Lambert, silversmith, of Coventry Street, London, a member of the British Archaeological Association, having restored the large and small maces of the Corporation entirely free of cost, and having also in his letter to the Mayor, dated 3rd October 1889, supplied information as to the dates and weights of the maces,

"It is hereby resolved

"That the best thanks of the Council be and they are hereby accorded to Major Lambert for his generous act.

"Resolved

"That a copy of the letter of Major Lambert, above referred to, be entered upon these Minutes as an interesting record on the subject of the maces."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A., V.P., called attention to a discovery of a crypt of early date (eleventh century) at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury : and further information was promised on a future occasion.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited a collection of rubbings relating to the Compton family, and the subject of his paper, viz., "South Creak." The brass reputed to be that of the Compton family bears a knight and lady kneeling in prayer ; in the field are four fire-beacons ; the motto, "*So have I cause*", six times repeated ; and on labels issuing from their mouths, texts from the Psalms. It is from Sopwell, Hants.

Mr. Brock and Mr. Birch made some remarks at the conclusion of the paper.

Mr. J. M. Wood read a further paper on the "Round Towers of Lammash and Pentlow Churches, Essex", with drawings and photographs of those and other examples, from the Saxon MSS. in the British Museum.

Mr. Grover said the round towers were early Saxon military work, not at first connected with a church.

Mr. Brock also supported the theory of Saxon origin, and instanced the tower of the church of Willingham, co. Lincoln, now ruined, with Saxon windows of two lights and central pillar.

## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Opening of Yorkshire Barrows.*—Canon Greenwell has been recently occupied in opening barrows on the north-east of the Yorkshire Wolds, in the parish of Folkton and Hunmanby. On the east side of the barrows on Folkton Wold the remains of a child, under four years of age, were found, together with three objects composed of chalk, and unlike anything ever found before in barrows. They are circular, and vary in size from 4 to 6 in. in height, and from 4 to 7 in. in diameter. They are entirely covered, except at the bottom, with a series of ornamentations; many of the lines forming the patterns are raised. It is impossible to describe the beauty and delicacy of the design on these objects. A very peculiar design occurring upon all consists of a series of dots, producing in a conventional form the human face. No such figure has hitherto been met with upon the pottery or other articles of the ancient British period. The smallest of these objects weighs two pounds ten ounces; the next size, four pounds ten ounces; and the largest, seven pounds. The substance is hard Wold chalk. There were also seven burials of unburned bodies in the same mound, with which there was nothing associated, except the central one, which had a very beautifully decorated drinking-cup.

The last barrow excavated was 45 ft. in diameter. It contained four bronze axes of the early form, without flanges or sockets. They are of the type of axe which hitherto is the only one that has been associated with the burials of the bronze period in Britain. The four are beautiful specimens, and are in the finest state of preservation, having on them a polish like glass. Three of them are ornamented with short, incised lines.

*Discovery of a Lake-Dwelling.*—North-west of Milan, in the neighbourhood of Somma Lombardo, there has recently been discovered, through the draining of the large turf-moor of La Lagozza, a lake-dwelling which differs in many respects from the others in Upper Italy and Switzerland. This relic of civilisation was met with under the peat-bog and the underlying layer of mud, the former being 1 mètre in thickness, and the latter 35 centimètres. The building was rectangular, 80 mètres long and 30 mètres broad; and between the posts, which are still standing upright, lay beams and half-burnt planks, the latter having been made by splitting the trees, and without using a saw. Some trunks still retain the stumps of their lateral, projecting branches, and they have probably served the purpose of ladders. The

lower end of these posts, which have been driven into the clay soil, is more or less pointed; and it can be seen from the partly still well preserved bark that the beams and planks are of white birch, pine, fir, and larch.

Among other things were found polished stone hatchets, a few arrow-heads, flint knives, and unworked stones with traces of the action of fire. Some pieces of burnt clay have probably been used as weavers' weights. There were also kidney-shaped thread-weights and spindle-rings of burnt clay. These are especially worthy of notice because among the Swiss lake-dwellings of the stone period only stone spindle-rings have been met with.

The earthen vessels of La Lagozza are of two kinds, rough and smooth. Generally speaking, the shape of the former is that of a cylindrical cone, and in the clay are mixed together pounded pebbles as well as fragments of quartz and mica. The smooth vessels, on the other hand, are chiefly small, hemispherical in shape, with flat or curved edges, and contain only a sprinkling of pebble-fragments. A layer of fine clay forms the outer coating of the vessel, and a projection on the side, pierced with two holes, has evidently been used to draw a piece of thread or string through, by which the vessels have been suspended.

The remains of webs which have been discovered are much coarser than those of Robenhansen, in Canton Zurich, the best known pile-village, and in reality they are rather rough network than woven tissues. Traces of animals are altogether wanting, and the inhabitants seem to have lived exclusively on vegetable diet. Grains of six-lined barley and two sorts of wheat were found in great heaps here and there, as well as cherries, walnuts, and acorns without shells. Apples, too, were to be seen, which, although small, show that attempts had already been made at that time to bring the apple-tree to perfection.

Especially to be noted is the fact, if we may judge by this discovery, that not a single beast of burden was at the disposal of the pile-builders of La Lagozza; from which it is evident that the agriculture carried on by them was of a very simple character; and that in the settlement there is not the slightest indication of cattle-rearing, or of hunting, or fishing. There is likewise no evidence to show that the inhabitants had any intercourse with the natives of other parts of Upper Italy.

*Exhibition of Pictures and Objects of Interest connected with the Royal House of Tudor, at the New Gallery, Regent Street.*—It has been decided to hold in January next, at the New Gallery, an exhibition of pictures and objects of interest connected with the Royal House of Tudor and its times. The period during which the Tudor monarchs occupied the throne was one of the most important in modern history. Under their

sway the naval and military power of England was decisively asserted, and the brilliant achievements of her seamen laid the foundations of our colonial empire. The genius of the statesmen who served them gave settled shape to our institutions, and established the principles of our civil and ecclesiastical government; while at their court literature and the arts found encouragement, and the name of the most illustrious of the Tudor sovereigns is inseparably linked with that of Shakespeare.

It is intended that the Exhibition shall be illustrative of all that is most remarkable in these several sections. To the portraits of the sovereigns themselves will be added those of the most famous statesmen, warriors, and men of letters who flourished during the period of the Tudor rule, and a special endeavour will be made to bring together as complete a series as possible of the works of Holbein. The Exhibition will also embrace miniatures, jewellery, arms, and armour, tapestry, embroidery, carvings, and personal relics of all kinds, together with plate, coins, medals, seals, original manuscripts, and printed books, connected with the period.

All correspondence in connection with the above to be addressed to the Hon. Harold Dillon, F.S.A., Secretary.

*History of All Saints' Church, Maidstone.* By Rev. J. CAVE-BROWNE. (Maidstone: Bunyard.) Mr. Cave-Browne, the author of the *History of Lambeth Palace*, not many years ago noticed in our *Journal*, has devoted a long period of careful research into the archives not only of the parish of All Saints, but of all other likely depositories of information respecting the subject he has taken in hand. The result is that he has left little unsaid of this interesting church. The early history of Maidstone as a Roman military station, with basilica and temple; *Domesday* notices of the parish; the details of the architecture and altar-tombs; the biographical notices of the rectors who played an important part in the Church history of their times; the Hospital, the College, the numerous monuments, and the Registers,—afford material for the several chapters; and the copious list of illustrations enhances the value of the work in antiquarian eyes. Our members will not grudge hearty thanks to the author for a work which, while of local value for the most part, yet appeals to students of a wider range, and not in vain.







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